

IN THESE TIMES

August 27th March
on Washington

p.3

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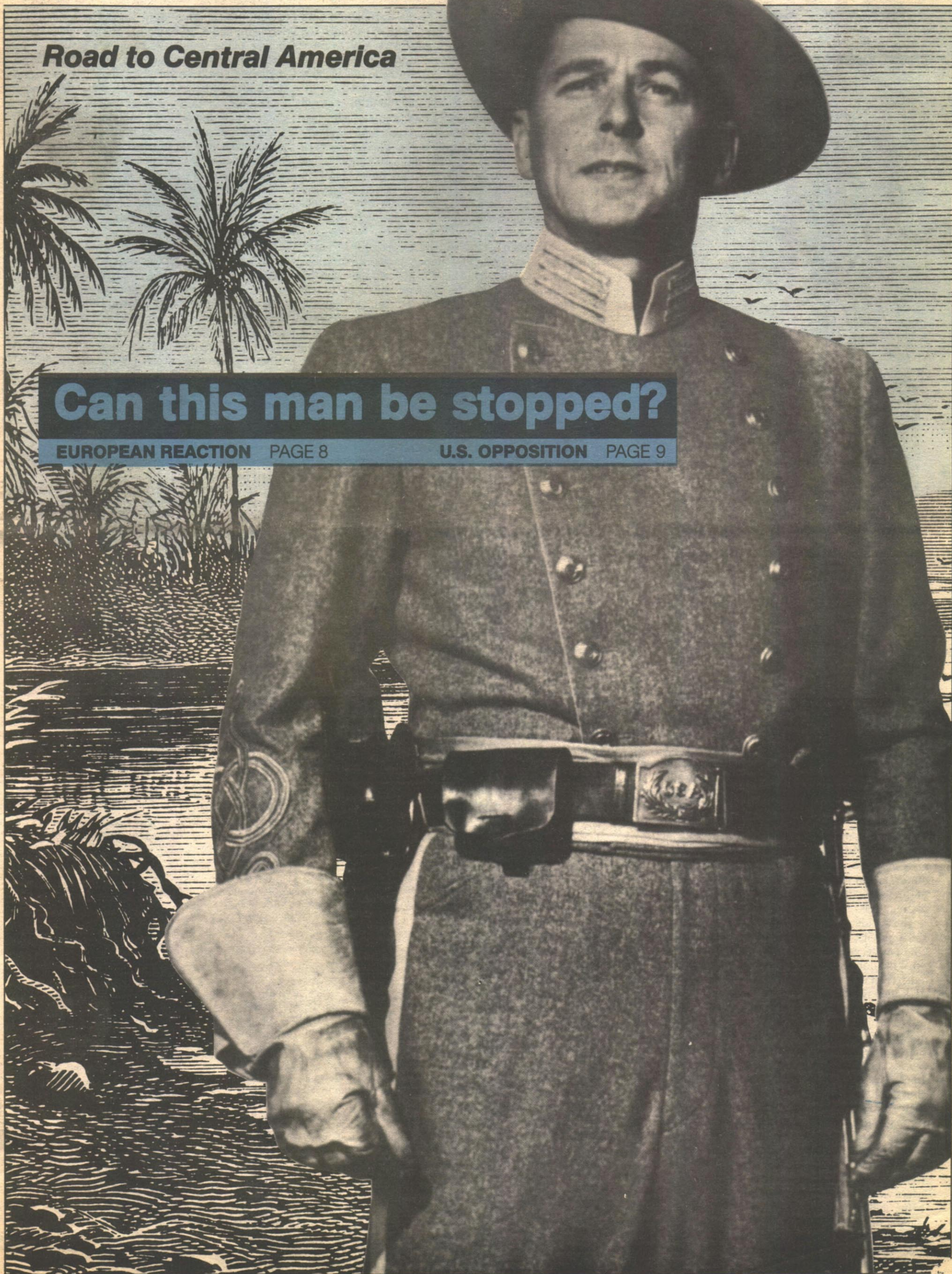
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Road to Central America

Can this man be stopped?

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THE INSIDE STORY



Marc Pokempner

Heather Booth: building a left "infrastructure."

Midwest Academy looks beyond 1984

By David Moberg

COLUMBUS, OH

Ten years ago Heather Booth, armed both with anger at a community organizing trainer who said women didn't have "the balls" to be organizers and with cash from a job discrimination settlement, opened the doors of the Midwest Academy in a neighborhood church on Chicago's north side. Dedicated to a vision of community organizing that would contribute to a vast popular movement going beyond Saul Alinsky's ambitions, the Midwest Academy trained traditional neighborhood organizers, environmentalists, feminists, unionists and more. It also was the center of a network of like-spirited individuals who periodically gathered for reunions.

The Academy's first summer retreat drew 30 people. But when it celebrated its tenth birthday in Columbus, Ohio, at the end of last month, more than 1,400 showed up. This impressive throng was not made up simply of adherents: nearly everyone there was an active organizer or leader representing thriving organizations claiming half a million dues-paying members.

Years ago Booth and others took advantage of the growing Midwest Academy network to begin changing the organizational structure and strategy of this community organizing activity. First by encouraging the emergence of statewide groups—for example, Massachusetts Fair Share, Illinois Public Action Council and Ohio Public Interest Campaign—and then by linking those groups together in Citizen Action, there was new power, new cooperation and the capacity to tackle larger issues. Increasingly, these organizations linked with labor unions in their states and also helped form the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition (C/LEC). Following Reagan's victory, Citizen Action groups moved beyond lobbying and protest to include work in elections, occasionally for candidates they had groomed. The door-to-door canvass that had originated as a fundraising device increasingly was used politically to educate the public and to provide indirect assistance to candidates.

The results are impressive: last year the Citizen Ac-

tion groups alone had a combined staff of 1,500 plus 1,000 canvassers who knocked on 50,000 doors a night throughout the year, helping to raise a budget of more than \$12 million. Last year the groups were involved in 122 elections, including 33 U.S. Senate and House races, and they won 70 percent of them. There are C/LEC or Citizen Action projects in 25 states (Wisconsin and New Jersey were added to the official list of affiliates that already included Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Oregon, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Virginia), and there is a strong possibility that California's Campaign for Economic Democracy (led by Tom Hayden) will link up soon.

Coalition victories.

Additional victories on varied fronts—often won with labor and other allies—have come with expansion: the first law restricting farm mortgage foreclosures since the Depression (as well as home mortgage protection) in Minnesota, a progressive state income tax in New Jersey, controls in several states on toxic wastes including "right-to-know" legislation and utility reform including a limit in Connecticut on the cost of a nuclear plant that could be charged to ratepayers and "lifeline" rates to aid the poor in several states. There have been state budget cut protests, such as a 200-mile "crisis march" in Illinois from Chicago to the state capitol. In Wisconsin, 13,500 unemployed workers were organized within a few months into clubs that are winning store discounts for the unemployed and fighting home foreclosures.

The mainstays of organizing have been utilities at the state and local level and the campaign to control natural gas prices nationally. This fall C/LEC will have a coordinated national drive in favor of its legislation to roll back gas prices, continue controls and regulate "take or pay" contracts between pipelines and utilities that have forced up gas prices. Early next year Citizen Action and its close ally, the Clean Water Action Project, will launch a C/LEC-style national campaign to clean up and prevent dangerous disposal of toxic wastes, reflecting growing local work on such problems.

Gradually Citizen Action groups are devoting more attention to two other national foci—military spending and overall economic policies. (National Peoples Action, a friendly alternative network of community organizations, has moved in similar directions.) At first some organizers worried that they might be moving faster than their constituents. At one statewide organization meeting, the staff proposed simply endorsement of the nuclear freeze, figuring the farmers and union members might not be comfortable with a stronger stand. But to their surprise in the workshop farmers and union members argued for a tougher position, including cuts in military spending.

With Reagan heating up the military confrontation in Central America, there was clearly great concern about foreign policy issues among those at last month's Academy retreat, but Citizen Action groups have not yet become involved.

A new focus on the economy.

Over the past year, Midwest Academy curriculum director Steve Max has been on the road with his economic crisis talks, presenting with his deadpan humor a popular left critique of corporate power and waste and a vivid rebuttal of Reaganomics. (Is he the Rodney Danger-

field of the left, as someone suggested?)

This is a prelude to developing a comprehensive economic program for the Citizen Action groups. This way, instead of having disparate protests, they can carry out coordinated action on behalf of a common program that would be introduced as legislation in Congress. The draft proposal emphasizes the following points: • full employment (lower interest rates and greater public employment to rebuild the U.S.); • ending the waste of corporate power (establishment of a national development corporation that would guarantee taxpayers equity or other financial interest in public-private ventures, cutting military spending, controlling capital exports and investment in education and agriculture); • "common sense economic planning" through democratizing decisions on a shorter work week, distribution of wealth, protection of domestic industries and capital allocation; and • an economic bill of rights (tax reform, higher living standards, economic security, equal opportunity, ecological sanity and economic democracy, including worker ownership, shop-floor decision-making power and community economic planning).

The time certainly is ripe. Calling for greater public control over the nation's banking system, Illinois Rep. Lane Evans—who praised Illinois Public Action Council canvass help during his election—told the retreat, "Greater control over the banking system is an issue as old as the populist movement. If ordinary people in the 1880s could understand it, I'm sure they can today." (Rep. Tom Downey [D-N.Y.] and Service Employees union President John Sweeney were the other featured celebrities.)

Citizen Action affiliates and other Midwest Academy allies will step up their electoral activity in 1984. Already they have become more involved in voter registration drives, have spread into more of the South, have recruited more black and Hispanic allies and have developed a more sophisticated week-to-week reporting system on progress of various races around the country. Booth predicts that in 1984 there will be canvassers or other organizing projects in 304 of the nation's 435 congressional districts (Citizen Action, C/LEC and the Clean Water Action Project may only be directly involved in roughly 100 federal and state races).

Presidential politics are still problematic. Walter Mondale's Political Director Paul Tully, a frequent participant in Academy and Citizen Action projects, was looking for support for Mondale. Also, the groups have asked presidential candidates to present their cases. But Citizen Action Executive Director Ira Arlook said the groups will first decide on common policy, even if that is a decision for each to go its own way, before any statewide organization becomes involved. Despite deep antagonism to Reagan, no candidates seems to have stirred much enthusiasm yet among an obviously potent cadre of possible organizers.

In a few instances, the Citizen Action groups are becoming more deeply imbedded in Democratic Party politics. For example, they've elected state central committee members in New Jersey and are forming Democratic Councils of party regulars, labor and various constituency groups in Illinois.

But whatever the front, the goal during the next five years is to build a movement that will manifest itself in a noticeable shift in public opinion and emergence of national leaders with "progressive tendencies," Heather Booth told the opening session. "What we represent is part of the infrastructure of this new movement." ■

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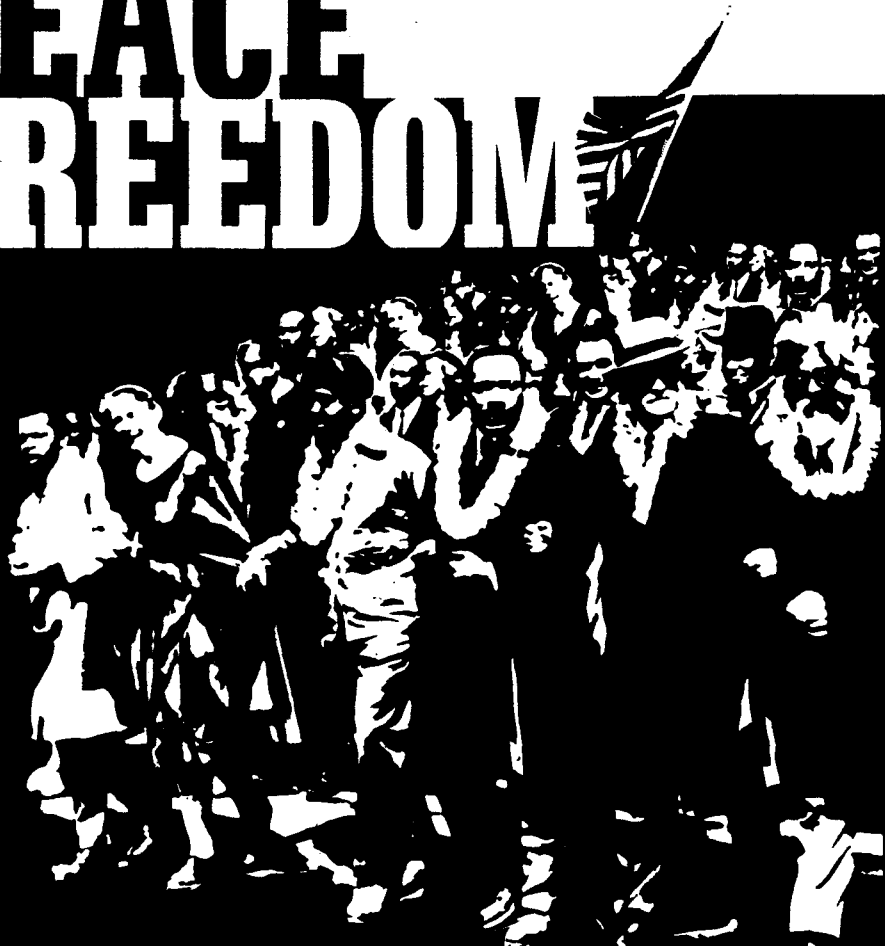
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IN THESE TIMES

20th Anniversary of
the Historic 1963 March
on Washington

JOB PEACE FREEDOM



August 27, 1983 ☆ Lincoln Memorial ☆ Washington, D.C.

Labor joins rights groups for '63 replay

By Tom Blanton

WASHINGTON

ORGANIZERS OF THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY March on Washington now expect as many people to demonstrate for "Jobs, Peace and Freedom" on August 27 as the quarter-million who heard the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. pronounce "I have a dream" in 1963.

In spite of assorted setbacks—ranging from limited funds to some holdouts in the Jewish community and in organized labor—the grassroots response to Mrs. Coretta Scott King and her co-chairs' January call for the march has come close to overwhelming the small staff that is keeping the event together.

About 310 cities will be represented in the August 27 crowd on Constitution Avenue and in front of the Lincoln Memorial, according to organizers. Besides the usual chartered buses, transportation includes such diverse means as a truckers' convoy picking up "resumes for Reagan," a disabled persons' caravan from Chicago, an international women's delegation walking from New York City, a cross-country march from Los Angeles, bicyclists from Minneapolis and New Haven and a Freedom Train from New Orleans via Amtrack.

For many Americans, the 1963 march was a high-water mark of the civil rights movement. It brought the major civil rights groups together, in spite of their often conflicting agendas. It provided key momentum to the then-languishing Civil Rights Act in Congress (which eventually passed in 1964). It focused national and worldwide attention on the freedom struggle. And it established Dr. King as the eloquent spokesman for a new American dream.

Seeking to reclaim and renew that spirit, Mrs. King, Rep. Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.) the Rev. Joseph Lowery (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) and the other co-chairs issued "A Call to the Nation" in January for an anniversary

march, and promptly ran into some problems.

First was the matter of themes. The original march announced its goals as "jobs and freedom." Now, in 1983, "peace" leaped onto the agenda, and some hackles rose as to what exactly that meant, especially among Jewish groups concerned about the Middle East and among hawkish elements at the AFL-CIO.

The language in the January "call" attacked the nuclear arms race and opposed "the militarization of internal conflicts, often abetted and even encouraged by massive U.S. arms exports, in areas of the world such as the Middle East and Central America...."

Said Murray Seeger of the AFL-CIO, "We were concerned from the beginning [about the peace theme] and asked them to show us what they were talking about. Our people sat in with them on the final wording of the call and we were satisfied."

But a few were not satisfied, most prominently the Jewish War Veterans, a group that was very active in the 1963 march but recently withdrew its endorsement for 1983. The AFL's Seeger notes, "There had been some antipathy between some black and Jewish leaders already, and some just saw it [the language] as too much of a gesture to the PLO and not strong enough in support of Israel."

In late July march conveners felt compelled to send a letter to Jewish organizations—including ones like the Union of American Hebrew Congregations that remained strong supporters—saying, "There is nothing in the call or official proclamation that can properly be construed as being anti-Israel," and reaffirming Dr. King's vision of nonviolent resolution of conflict.

Ironically, it was Bayard Rustin who created major heat on the peace issue. Rustin, now president of the AFL-CIO's A. Philip Randolph Institute, had been the key organizer of the 1963 March on Washington that was originally suggested by Randolph, the AFL's first black vice-president. Back in 1941 Randolph

had used the threat of a march on Washington to pressure President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to take action against discrimination in government-contract employment.

This time around, Rustin opposed the march. Within the labor and black communities he expressed alarm at any hint of support for a nuclear freeze, wrote Mrs. King that "peace" and "civil rights" didn't mix and invoked the specter of unemployed black youths being incited to riot by the march. (In 1963, it was President Kennedy and other officials who used the it-could-incite-violence argument, and Rustin's response then was to organize the event to be thoroughly respectable.)

Another difference between 1963 and 1983 is organized labor's willingness to stand up and be counted. Under George Meany, who generally opposed mass protests, the AFL-CIO in 1963 only expressed sympathy for the march's aims and refused to endorse it, thus drawing the acerbic criticism of march co-chair Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers. But by 1983, the success of Solidarity Day had brought the AFL-CIO around to the virtues of mass demonstrations. At its February meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla., the AFL-CIO Executive Council endorsed the march. Since then, the AFL-CIO has donated \$5,000 along with several full-time staff people, and Lane Kirkland has written to all AFL-CIO affiliates (on July 18) reminding them of the endorsement and urging their participation.

This amounts to a real victory for march organizers. Donna Brazile, mobilization coordinator, notes that "as recently as six months ago we didn't know whether labor would be on board or would sit on the sidelines like last time." Brazile attributes the AFL-CIO's endorsement to grassroots pressure: "We got the local people on board and that got them on board."

Observers were originally worried that the August 27 date for the march might conflict with labor's long-set plans for

Solidarity Day III on Labor Day, September 5 (Solidarity Day II was Election Day 1982). Indeed, Murray Seeger says, "We asked them for another date but they insisted on August 27. Obviously, it limits our participation somewhat. It would be really costly to do both [events] the way we did Solidarity Day I, and we can't get our people wound up twice in such a short time."

As a result, march organizers are counting for strongest labor backing on the Washington, D.C.-area labor councils and on some strong support from individual unions:

- District 1199 (National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees) made a large cash donation and plans to fill upwards of 200 buses with 1199 members;

- International Association of Machinists (IAM) expects 8,000 members at the march and has provided cash and in-kind services;

- National Education Association provided headquarters office space for the march, along with the American Federation of Government Employees, which provided logistics office space, and the United Food and Commercial Workers, which provided printing—all expect large contingents;

- American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) expects to fill at least 150 buses with members;

- Communications Workers of America is planning for at least 5,000 members to come to Washington;

- United Auto Workers expects thousands of members; and other large contingents are expected from IUE, ACT-WU, SEIU, Steelworkers, UE, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and other unions.

Teresa Rankin, labor coordinator on loan to the march from the Industrial Union Department, cautions, "You can't compare this one to Solidarity Day" when more than half a million union members and friends massed on the Mall.

"This is a different event, a coalition ef-

Continued on page 10

INSHORT

Letter from summer camp

The women's peace camp outside the Seneca Army Depot in New York attracted thousands of women the last weekend in July, with hundreds arrested. But at Davis Monthan Air Force Base in Tucson, training site for Cruise missile technicians, a handful of peace campers have held their ground for six weeks on Air Force property. In a letter from the camp Brian Flagg reported that, after the Cruise protesters encamped outside the main base gate on International Disarmament Day June 20, the Air Force demanded they move to a city-owned strip of land at the roadside. A month later, however, officials claimed the strip also belonged to the Air Force, not the city, and a new land survey backed them up.

What this means to the encampment isn't clear, since the Air Force hasn't yet moved to break it up. The campers, many from the local Catholic Worker community, are elated at having managed to remain on Air Force land—without even knowing it—for this long, and plan to stay until the Cruise is cancelled or deployed in December.

Another Washington victory

Labor leader Charles Hayes was not the only victor when he won the congressional seat formerly held by Mayor Harold Washington in Chicago's largely black South Side first district. Washington had endorsed Hayes, a left-leaning veteran of labor, civil rights and reform politics battles, in a crowded field that included several of his prominent supporters. Washington's endorsement and the superior field organization of the Hayes campaign—including Washington supporters, new and old reform forces, old Democratic machine operatives rushing to the mayor's aid (all voluntarily, he says) and an unusually strong labor contribution—gave Hayes 45 percent to journalist Lu Palmer's 32 percent. Former Washington campaign manager Al Raby won 12 percent of the vote in the special election, in which turnout was predictably low (32 percent). Washington had endorsed Hayes because of the United Food and Commercial Workers vice president's past support to Washington and liberal-left movements and because he thought Hayes would be an important voice for labor and blacks in Congress at a time when they need it. Hayes will also be a voice for Washington, whose political position in the city is strengthened by the vote.

Nationally, the right has finally uncovered the Washington-*In These Times* connection. In a recent *National Review* column, William F. Buckley noted that "his honor is being featured, portrait and all, in ads for the leftist magazine *In These Times*, which claims 'a perspective you won't find anywhere else,' which we wish were true." Buckley pointed out that Washington was joined by I.F. Stone, Gloria Steinem and Daniel Ellsberg in the testimonial, and closed with "Keep your eye on Mr. Washington and his favorite mag."

Slavery outlawed

Almost 120 years after the 13th Amendment abolished slavery, Alex Charnes reports that the North Carolina General Assembly last month passed a law making it a felony to hold workers in involuntary servitude (*In These Times*, May 18).

But while state officials say only California has a comparable law protecting migrant laborers from debt peonage, North Carolina farmworker advocates are not satisfied with the statute. Intense lobbying by the North Carolina Farm Bureau managed to delete a provision that would have made it a crime to employ a person knowing that the employee is holding people in involuntary servitude, and Joan Priess, a North Carolina advocate for the National Farm Worker Ministry, believes that left the bill gutted. "The law essentially says that you can knowingly and willfully hire a slaveholder [the crewleader] but you can't be one. The teeth are out of it." But State Rep. Malcolm Fulcher Jr., the bill's original sponsor, while acknowledging that farm lobbyists had some influence, says anti-slavery forces "got more than we bargained for." Fulcher points out that agricultural growers who employ slaveholders may be held criminally liable under an already existing state law prohibiting aiding and abetting a felony.

Sisterhood is powerful

The Berkeley City Council voted July 19 to establish a sister city program with the Salvadoran rebel-held town of San Antonio Los Ranchos. Not merely symbolic, the relationship will provide a formal channel for economic aid to the war-stricken community, Mike Berkowitz reports. The Salvadoran city is located in a "zone of popular control," from which rebels have driven government troops. It was heavily bombed last year and sorely needs economic aid. New El Salvador Today, the group that promoted the sister-city arrangement, is trying to set up similar relationships elsewhere in the U.S.

Berkeley has always charted an independent course in foreign relations. In 1979 Mayor Gus Newport was the only elected American official to attend a conference of non-aligned nations in Havana, and the city has even attempted—unsuccessfully—to set up a sister-city relationship with the Cuban capital.

—Joan Walsh

Free to choose in Tacoma

WASHINGTON, D.C.—As administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), William Ruckelshaus is pushing a controversial regulatory policy of "risk management" that proposes to "balance" the health benefits of anti-pollution rules against their costs to corporations. Now Ruckelshaus' EPA has put forward its first proposal for turning those words into reality—and environmentalists are stunned and appalled.

In a new arsenic standard for the copper industry, the EPA has proposed rules for the ASARCO corporation's giant copper smelter near Tacoma, Wash., that would write into law an "acceptable" cancer risk for area residents. The most exposed person downwind from the smelter will have an estimated one in 50 chance of developing lung cancer from breathing arsenic, given a lifetime of exposure to the poison. The agency's rule would also accept a cancer risk of two in 1,000 for the 1,000 most exposed individuals in Tacoma.

The EPA is not forcing the new rules on Tacoma, however. In a special public hearing on August 30 and 31, local residents will get to decide whether they want to run the agency's proposed risk of contracting lung cancer, or whether they prefer tougher rules that could close the smelter and throw 570 people out of work. Unemployment in Pierce County, the area around the ASARCO smelter, is currently running above 13 percent.

To environmentalists, the Tacoma hearings look like a classic example of "jobs blackmail"—the use of a threatened plant closing to set environmentalists and labor unions at each other's throats over the issue of pollution control. The ASARCO smelter, built in 1896, is believed to be nearing the end of its useful life, with some recent EPA studies predicting its closure as early as 1986.

The EPA proposal comes at a time when the U.S. copper industry is operating at about 50 percent of capacity due to world and national recession, as well as tough price competition from foreign producers in countries such as Mexico, Chile, Peru, Zaire and Zambia. For ASARCO, "1982 was the worst year in [company] history," according to the firm's most recent annual report.

David Doniger of the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) says the EPA has failed to pressure the copper industry to

come up with technology that might soften the harsh choices facing Tacoma.

The agency might also do what it did for dioxin victims in Times Beach, Mo., by offering to mitigate the financial impacts of a smelter closing on the copper workers and the local economy, Doniger adds.

Blake Early, lobbyist for the national Sierra Club, observes that the ruling takes little account of the profits ASARCO has extracted from the facility during its years of prosperity. "In the good years, the companies put their revenues into dividends for their stockholders. In the bad years, they come around asking for breaks from environmental laws," Early said. "It's true that a number of copper smelters around the country are just hanging onto the edge economically. But this is a question of industrial policy, if you will, as much as it is one of pollution control."

Environmentalists are also disturbed by the levels of cancer risk EPA is envisioning. The NRDC,

which reluctantly supports the use of "risk management" techniques as a provisional tool for setting priorities in health and environmental regulation, insists that most environmental rules should be written so as to cause the public no more than a one in one million lifetime risk of developing cancer from any given substance. The Tacoma standard would actually lessen the current cancer risk to area residents, but the notion of any legally sanctioned cancer risk strikes many as politically callous.

An EPA spokesperson pointed out that the endangered "most exposed person" under discussion is a statistical abstraction. Great uncertainty and caution surrounds the agency's estimation of "worst case" health risks, he said, and the health risks run by "typical" individuals living around the smelters will be far less.

A national set of hearings on the proposed arsenic standards will be held in Washington, D.C. on August 23, 24 and 25.

—Andy Feeney

Nigeria's uneasy ballot

Nigeria's second elections since the 1979 return to civilian rule are taking place this month. And legal, orderly balloting could go a long way toward legitimating the present political system and ruling out another military coup. But while all registered political parties agree on the need for smooth-running elections, they aren't guaranteed.

Nationwide anxiety over the elections is a sign of the underlying political turmoil in this west African country beset by power struggles within and among political parties. Economic prob-

lems, intensified due to the dramatic drop in the price of oil—that supplies 90 percent of Nigeria's income—have deepened the political struggle, as Nigerians compete for increasingly scarce resources and revenue.

Nigeria's Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) scheduled the elections in consecutive weeks, with the presidential election the first week of August and the state representative and gubernatorial elections in the following weeks. Six political parties have been registered by FEDECO but only three have a chance of large-scale wins. National Party of Nigeria (NPN), United Party of Nigeria (UPN) and Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP).

Incumbent President Shehu Shagari belongs to the NPN, the

Nigerian President Shehu Shagari is expected to win re-election.



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majority party in the present administration. Clearly the most conservative party, it is supported by most successful businessmen of all ethnic groups.

The two other parties are slightly more to the left. According to Chief Obafemi Awolowo, UPN presidential candidate, his party's goal is socialism, although not "in one frantic leap." The UPN platform includes free education for all, free health facilities, full employment and integrated rural development.

The NPP, led by Nnamdi Azikiwe, calls for equal opportunity, free education, full employment and just and equitable distribution of Nigeria's wealth among all people and states. Despite the two parties' leftist rhetoric, private enterprise is well-entrenched among Nigerians in all political parties. The big contractor, who depends on the government for his best deals, is perhaps the quintessential Nigerian businessman. Such a situation makes substantial reforms unlikely.

Nigeria has had a difficult electoral history. The 1979 national elections were marred by allegations of electoral rigging. Registration for this year's elections was delayed several months in two states by legal skirmishes.

FEDECO's election schedule is partially responsible for the discontent about the upcoming elections. Most opposition parties say that the present order favors the NPN. Shagari is likely to win the presidency again, and his victory might well result in a bandwagon effect in the other elections. Critics of FEDECO point out a number of other problems: the Islamic *Haji*, a month-long religious holiday, begins August 15, perhaps dampening Muslim participation in the later elections.

The UPN and NPP have formed the Progressive Parties' Alliance (PPA), joining forces to defeat NPN, but the alliance has not been able to field a common presidential candidate. Each party is supporting its own man, believing that nominating NPP's Nnamdi Azikiwe or UPN's Obafemi Awolowo would hamper its chances in the subsequent state elections.

—Allison Drew

A victory for NY homeless

NEW YORK—With names like the "Grenada," the "Regency" and the "Martinique," New York City's three welfare hotels for homeless indigents evoke images of comfort that don't match the reality of living in cramped, unsanitary quarters threatened by violent crime. In an effort to improve the plight of more than 1,800 families seeking temporary shelter, some of whom are stuck in the hotels for six months or more, the Legal Aid Society won a minor victory June 20 when State Supreme Court Justice Edward Greenfield issued a temporary order specifying minimum standards in the hotels: a bed for each individual, sufficient mattresses, clean linen, hot water, heat, sanitary bathrooms and locks.

That temporary ruling was a response to a Legal Aid Society

suit filed March 31 on behalf of New York City's homeless families. Robert Jorgen, director of New York's Crisis Intervention Services, describes the situation as "horrendous, unprecedented and unexpected." Last year alone the number of families seeking temporary shelter increased more than 20 percent and those who find it are staying longer. Last winter the average stay was two months, but families in hotels at the end of May had been there an average of five months.



New York in the Sixties

Many of the homeless are welfare recipients, and welfare housing allowances—based on 1972 costs and unchanged since 1976—do not exceed \$218 for a family of four. But to compete on the housing market, officials concede, such a family would need close to \$300 per month.

Yet to house a welfare family of four in two shabby hotel rooms, the city pays hotels \$41 a day—\$14 for the first tenant and \$9 for each additional tenant—a rate of \$287 a week or for the average stay this past winter of four months—\$4,592.

The city can't verify the hotels' profits because their books are closed. But when the hotels are full, as they are now, the city pays the Granada and Regent about \$250,000 monthly and the Martinique about \$500,000 per month. The owner's costs are harder to figure, but as Sandy Werier, director of the Division of Housing for Income Maintenance, says, "They must be making a damn good profit."

City officials are frank about the conditions in the hotels. As Crisis Intervention Services Director Jorgen says, "I know of nobody I work with in the city all the way up who wouldn't prefer not to use hotels, but we're in a horrendous situation, unprecedented and unexpected. My job is to play Cassandra, and even I, the ultimate pessimist, did not expect the tremendous growth in the homeless."

The city cannot force the hotels to provide better service, Jorgen says, since it is so desperate to find a place for the 1,800-plus families seeking temporary shelter. "We're now in a seller's market," says Jorgen. "We don't have any clout. You have to be able to say, 'We won't use your hotel.' We can't say that."

—Carl Goldfarb

Briefing: Are revenue bonds doing the job?

MILWAUKEE—In a yellow school bus donated by a local Catholic church, some 40 unemployed Milwaukee residents took an unlikely field trip in early July. With resumes in hand, the jobless toured the city stopping in at personnel offices of Milwaukee firms that have recently received federal industrial expansion assistance, in the form of Industrial Revenue Bonds (IRB) or Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG).

Both economic revitalization programs seek to encourage job creation, often in depressed urban areas. To receive IRBs or UDAGs, firms must estimate how many new jobs they will create with the federal assistance. But in Milwaukee, advocates for the unemployed are finding that, despite pledges to create jobs, many firms receiving IRBs and UDAGs have added no new positions—some have actually reduced their workforces.

So to publicize the inconsistency between the programs' goals and their practice, the Congress for a Working America (CWA), a full-employment group that grew out of United Farm Workers campaigns, organized the unemployed bus tour. The companies they visited—Master Lock, Interstate Drop Forge, Milwaukee Malleable and Grey Ironworks and Maynard Steel—had estimated they'd create several hundred jobs with the IRBs and UDAGs. But none have added any employees since the funds were authorized, and the CWA job-seekers didn't get much encouragement. The personnel departments weren't taking applications; at one, officials

allowing the holder to settle for a lower return—to companies' job-creation pledges or the social benefits of their expansion plans have gone nowhere. Department of City Development Commissioner William Drew has told the *Milwaukee Journal* that, given the current recession, it is "unfair" to expect IRB recipients to live up to their employment promises. Currently, the city doesn't even monitor how many jobs firms create with



Steve Kogan

IRBs.

In the most controversial recent IRB case, last fall the city authorized a \$7.35-million bond issue to Gebco, Inc., \$6 million of which was slated to allow the firm to purchase a profitable local tannery. It was only the second IRB that went toward corporate acquisition. In the wake of community protest, the city Common Council agreed to consider new IRB guidelines, but the discussions have produced no changes in the way Milwaukee awards IRBs.

The city's IRB program has come in for national criticism as



Dennis Ettinger

Milwaukee jobseekers board the school bus that took them to city IRB recipients.

refused to sign the job search cards that the unemployed have to present to get extended benefits. Another was closed behind a padlocked door, with a sign warning that trespassers would be arrested.

The CWA action played well before Milwaukee television cameras, but it didn't move city officials. Milwaukee firms' IRB performance has been attacked before, but calls to tie the bonds—which are exempt from federal taxes, thus

well. Last December a U.S. Civil Rights Commission report found that Milwaukee IRB recipients employed a smaller share of women and minorities than other area firms. Of 20 city IRB recipients studied, 16 had below-average records of minority hiring, 14 had a below-average number of women workers and the EEOC had ruled against five of the firms in discrimination cases. Although state laws prohibiting employment discrimination in the IRB program, neither the

city nor the state monitors the hiring practices of IRB recipients to determine whether women or minorities are adequately employed.

As a pillar of supply-side reindustrialization policy, IRBs and similar tax incentive programs have become one of the most popular economic development tools in the nation. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that IRBs cost the federal treasury \$1 billion in revenue in 1981, and that figure is expected to rise to between \$3 billion and \$4 billion by 1986.

For politicians squeamish about federal spending programs, IRBs are politically perfect—you're not spending public money, you're just not

collecting it. And best of all, funds stay in the private sector.

But proponents of alternative reindustrialization policy question whether IRBs provide "enough bang for the buck," in the words of William Schweke of the Corporation for Enterprise Development. Schweke, the author of *Putting America Back to Work: What States and Cities Can Do*, calls IRBs "costly and inefficient at job-creation."

Because IRBs don't insure that the loan will be repaid, only that the return on it will be tax exempt, they help firms that are already competitive in the credit market, Schweke points out, not marginal or smaller businesses, which tend to be more labor-intensive.

"In terms of efficiency and equity, there are better ways to create jobs than squandering capital on firms that already have access to it," says Schweke.

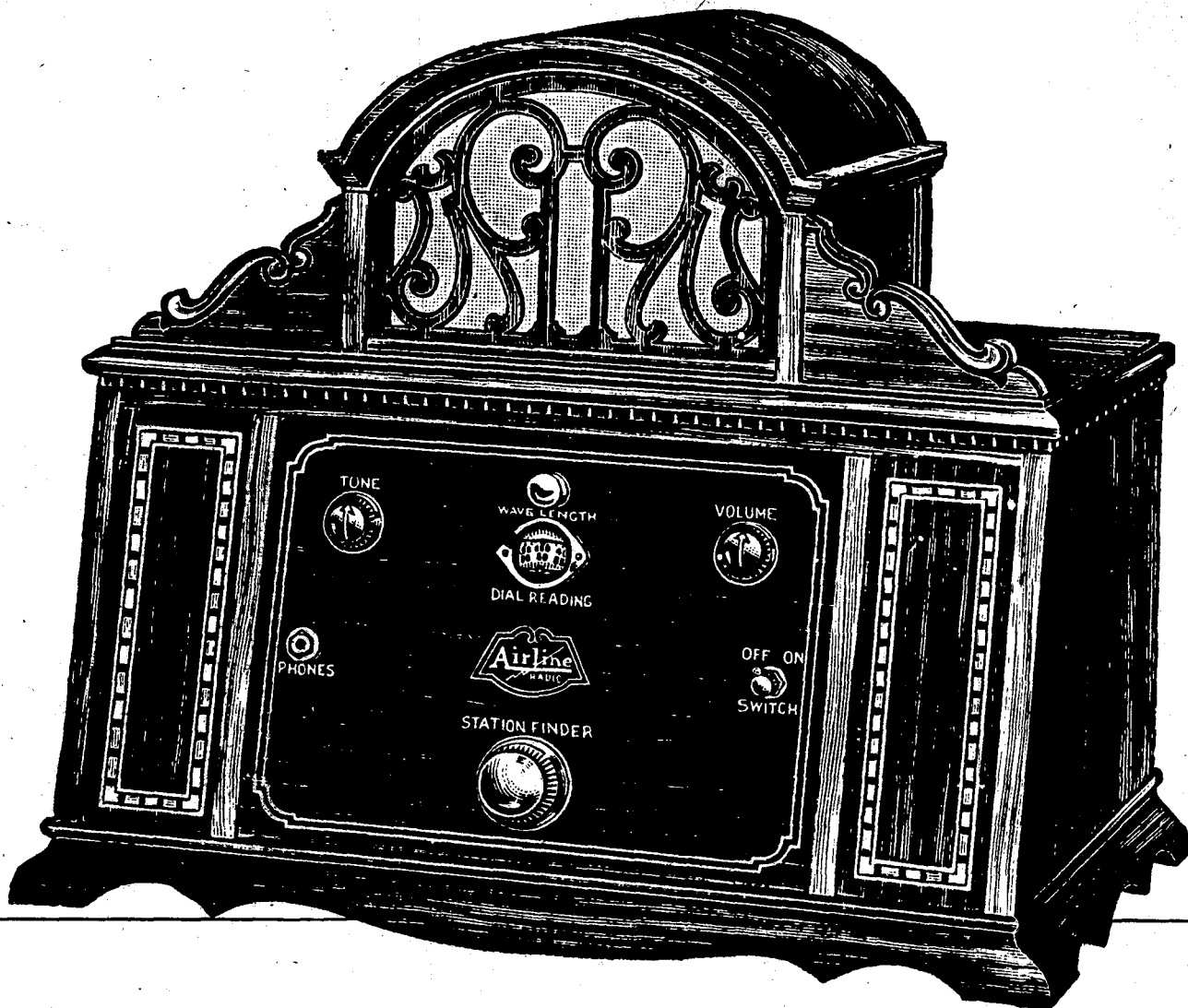
For now, however, since states and cities are not yet disenchanted with revitalization-through-IRBs, groups like CWA plan to keep pushing officials to make good on the program's job-creation goals. CWA members and other unemployed workers will visit more IRB recipients and plan to meet with U.S. Rep. James Moody (D-Milwaukee) to discuss the discrepancies between the IRB program's employment goals and recipients' performance. Schweke says there is some congressional concern about the program, given its loose federal guidelines and even looser monitoring of its success.

"But states are afraid to move on it—IRBs are part of their 'business climate' idea," Schweke notes. "They're simple to implement and you appear to be spending no money. They're an irrational tool."

—Joan Walsh

IN THE NATION

NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO



Mixed signals from new pact

By Brooke Gladstone

WASHINGTON

DAMOCLES' SWORD HAS BEEN lifted from the neck of National Public Radio (NPR). Last month NPR and its federal funding arm, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), were locked in combat over the terms of a loan to save the network, reeling from a \$9.1 million deficit. At the 11th hour they worked out a solution, made the payroll and plucked NPR from the brink of bankruptcy.

They were slated to sign the loan agreement August 3, as *In These Times* went to press.

The sticking point last month was CPB's demand that NPR give up the title to its satellite interconnection equipment (which beams out NPR's programs) to member stations. NPR acting chief Ron Bornstein called the demand "gunboat

diplomacy" and refused to budge. Other station reps saw CPB's demand as an attempt to dismantle NPR under duress. But CPB, which saw the transfer as a way to protect the system against future fiscal fiascos, stood fast and withheld aid.

The clock ticked away. Bornstein said NPR was prepared to file for bankruptcy if CPB didn't supply \$1.8 million by July 28. Finally, 24-hour negotiations and congressional prodding produced a solution the day the axe was to drop: three public citizens of sterling character would hold the title of the equipment in trust; its operation would be guided by majority vote of the stations and NPR staff would continue to manage it as before.

The three sterling citizens are former Attorney General Elliot Richardson, telecommunications policy guru (and former FCC general counsel) Henry Geller and former CPB board member Virginia Duncan, now with Bechtel Group, Inc.

All's well that ends well? Not so fast.

Many observers, both in Congress and

the press, found the brinkmanship practiced by NPR and CPB last month excruciating, unnecessary and inexplicable. But the struggle was familiar to public broadcasting insiders, who watched a similar upheaval in public television in the mid-'70s when public TV broke into separate entities for producing programs, distributing them and representing the public TV industry before Congress and CPB. It retains that hydra-headed structure today.

In public radio, all those functions are performed by NPR. That's why NPR's financial mismanagement sent the entire system into a tailspin and eroded the member stations' trust in central control. That lack of trust could translate into less responsibility for NPR, fewer federal dollars to NPR for radio programming, even a restructuring of the system along public TV lines. And those changes, as arcane as they seem, are bound to affect what you hear when you tune in *All Things Considered* or *Morning Edition*.

Larger public radio stations have begun to chafe under the constraints of centralized management by NPR. Those stations don't feel that NPR represents them and they resent NPR's monopoly on federal programming dollars, funneled through CPB. They want to be able to compete for those dollars.

During the negotiations, CPB supported the idea of dividing radio program money between NPR and the stations. Stations could send that money back to NPR (by purchasing the programs they now get free) or spend it on programs from other producers—including from American Public Radio, an emerging competitor to NPR, which is supplying the music programs that NPR no longer can afford since the bottom dropped out of its budget last March.

CPB's suggestion elicited a howl from small-market stations which contend that concentrating all programming at one center is more cost-effective. They also point out that decentralization in public TV has resulted in snail's-pace development of national news and public affairs, less risk-taking and less clout for small stations because station purchasing power, not majority vote, by and large determines what gets on the air in public television.

Others have called for breaking off NPR's distribution and representation functions into separate entities to avoid conflict of interest within the organization. Public radio is experiencing growing pains, say those favoring decentralization, and should not be crammed under NPR's tiny roof.

NPR's new president is going to have to walk the most delicate of political tightropes in the current explosive public radio environment. Stations must be given increased oversight, but that oversight should not leave NPR's programs financially or politically vulnerable to the factiousness—big stations vs. small, urban vs. rural—that is endemic to public broadcasting. NPR's new chief must maintain the network's credibility as a major news organization, at the moment badly shaken by layoffs and budget cuts, and begin the careful task of restoration, without sending the company back into the red.

The next few years are fraught with danger. The company can't stay as it was before the crisis, nor can it change too much. Perhaps the one positive outcome of the last few months is that people who care about NPR are listening more carefully, monitoring subtle changes in what they hear. Ultimately, it will be NPR's listeners who ensure that public radio survives despite its underfunded, gerrymandered structure that pits too many broadcasters and producers against each other in the pursuit of too little money.

Henry Geller, one of the three trustees now holding title to NPR's satellite, sums it up: "The root of it is that we are starving our public broadcasting system. A great nation shouldn't treat its public broadcasting system this way."

Brooke Gladstone is associate editor of *Current*, a non-profit newspaper that covers public television and radio.

AFL-CIO

Churches question IRD connection

By Steve Askin

WASHINGTON

ORGANIZED RELIGION'S internal wars over foreign-policy involvement have spilled into church-labor coalition groups with leaders of several Protestant organizations holding the labor movement partly responsible for the Institute on Religion and Democracy's (IRD) public attacks

on the churches' international stands.

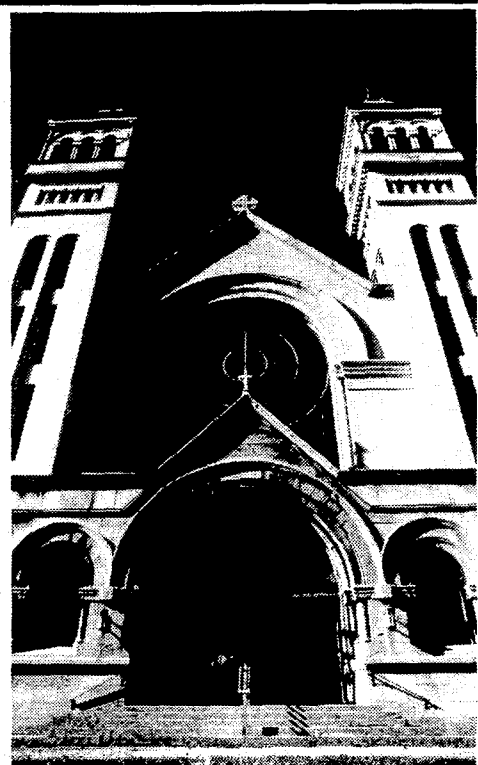
In recent meetings with union leaders, officials of the United Methodist Church, United Church of Christ (UCC) and other denominations called on the AFL-CIO to formally disassociate itself from the IRD, a coalition of conservatives and cold-war liberals formed to challenge alleged church support for "left-wing totalitarianism in the Third World" (*In These Times*, Feb. 9).

The church protests focus on high-ranking AFL-CIO staffer David Jessup,

who is an IRD co-founder, a Social Democrats U.S.A. (SD-USA) member and a high-profile critic of liberal church groups' foreign policy. His dual role—as a strategist in the AFL-CIO's work with the Democratic Party and as a critic of the churches—has been cited by IRD officials and in media reports as evidence that IRD includes liberals as well as conservatives.

In June, at a national Religion and Labor Conference board meeting, religious participants called on "our friends" in the labor movement to work to end labor's participation in the attack upon religious organizations. Without naming Jessup they condemned "participation of certain elements and individuals within organized labor" in this "assault" and said that "the labor affiliations of these elements have been used repeatedly to legitimize this attack." Church groups have since made similar appeals to union leaders seeking religious support on several social action projects.

Continued on page 11



By Richard Guarasci & Gary Peck

O P E L I K A , A L A .

TEXTILE WORKERS THROUGHOUT the South won a major victory in June when six Alabama factory workers suffering from brown lung disease received a significant out-of-court settlement for damages caused by exposure to toxic substances at an Opelika, Ala., textile plant. The victory against officials at the West Point-Pepperell company sets a legal precedent and provides strong evidence that industry officials were aware of health hazards to employees many years before they publicly acknowledged the problem. And several legal experts predict it will be a landmark case in textile workers' battle for a safe workplace.

The suit was filed in October 1979 by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) for Nat Wilkins, president of the Opelika chapter of the Brown Lung Association (BLA). It was originally intended as a class-action suit for all disabled workers at the plant suffering from brown lung, a disease long associated with cotton-dust inhalation. Wilkins' attorneys claimed Pepperell officials, along with those at the Workman's Compensation carrier, Boston-based Liberty Mutual Insurance, failed to warn workers about the dangers of cotton dust or to protect them from high exposure levels.

In January 1982, after a circuit court judge dismissed Wilkins' original attempt at a class-action suit and had issued an injunction forbidding SPLC lawyers from contacting prospective litigants, the cases were reinstated by the Alabama Supreme Court as civil suits on behalf of Wilkins and five additional claimants.

The still-pending case against Liberty Mutual is scheduled to be heard later this year.

The suits—which were litigated as torts charging West Point-Pepperell officials with fraud and intentional injury and sought punitive as well as compensatory damages—directly challenged industry positions on brown lung and circumvented the normal compensation process. Though the lower courts forbid SPLC from suing West Point-Pepperell, it was allowed to file suit against company officials who were culpable—setting the stage for the precedent-setting personal injury recovery for an occupational disease.

Both sides claim to be satisfied with the West Point-Pepperell settlement, the terms of which cannot be revealed, according to signed agreements. But workers stand to gain the most since, by settling, Pepperell officials have acknowledged that the company should accept some responsibility for workers' health problems.

Until the settlement, textile manufacturers repeatedly denied that they knew about brown lung prior to the '70s and insisted that the problem affected few workers. They routinely fought government-mandated engineering redesigns to limit dust emissions, claiming that in-house medical surveillance of employees provided sufficient protection. And they successfully lobbied against liberalizing workman's compensation programs that are unresponsive to disabled workers.

In Alabama, for example, the compensation program requires persons to file disability claims within one year of their last exposure to toxic substances or forfeit all rights to do so. This process allows cases that are filed to drag on for years, and only rarely have the courts ruled against the companies. When the West Point-Pepperell actions came up in court, only two prior claims had been entered and only one claimant had been compensated for brown lung.

Brown lung coverup.

But the evidence in the Opelika case was strong: internal corporate memos, correspondence with university and public health officials and a deposition from Dr. Joe Bosworth, Liberty Mutual's medical director of loss prevention in the Southern division, all contradicted the industry's claim that it didn't know about the brown lung problem until the last decade.

According to Bosworth's testimony, he

told an investigator that he began researching the incidence of brown lung symptoms at plants "that were having problems...in about '52, '53, somewhere around there," and continued these surveys while he worked at Liberty Mutual. After confirming that workers in dusty areas had contracted the classic "Monday morning sickness" (chest tightness and fever) associated with brown lung, but claiming the symptoms were "a temporary allergic reaction to contaminants in cotton," he informed the plant managers about the situation.

"When they found out about it, they were scared to death," he admitted telling the investigator, "because there could have been a wholesale cost [in compensation payments] to them, and they didn't

Georgia Technical Institute, who were proposing a health study of the mills. Recorded minutes sent by Forbes to his associates reveal that investigators were aware of health problems among workers exposed to cotton dust.

Petrie, who attended the conference, reportedly said that he had been "hounded" by such complaints through the mail...most of them being anonymous because the writers were afraid of the consequences of reporting their employers."

Other meetings followed with the same researchers, as well as with R.F. Schilling and C.D. McKerrow, British authors of a ground-breaking article on brown lung. Industry doctors attending those sessions said they were surprised by the company

He also reiterated the fear that "public reaction could be detrimental to the industry."

Reminding them that it would be a "private investigation by a *private* educational institution (italics Forbes)," he emphasized that "participation would be purely voluntary." And he encouraged those who had "friends or associates who are connected with Emory University... [to] discuss the matter with them...[stress-ing] the healthful and safe working conditions in your plants."

In June 1964 Forbes sent a letter to Dr. Sanford Atwood, Emory's president, suggesting that he re-evaluate the investigation "before he spends five years and \$73,000 to study a disease about which those who have spent their lives in this in-



Nat Wilkins was one of six workers who settled out of court.

want any part of it."

Bosworth's testimony has been supported by other reports compiled in the late '50s and early '60s pointing to the industry's reluctance to address the brown lung problem, despite suspecting its existence. As early as February 1958, Dr. Lester Petrie, director of preventable disease of the Georgia Public Health Department, collected cotton samples at two mills and submitted them for testing by Liberty Mutual because "the employees have been experiencing symptoms resembling [brown lung] for about six months ...[specifically] employees in the card-room, probably the dustiest place in the plant."

By March 1960, Petrie was writing the president of the Georgia Textile Manufacturers Association (GTMA) requesting permission to "study the effect of cotton dusts on the respiratory system of textile workers."

Fear and loathing.

Petrie's letters pointed to industry officials' fears that such research would do "irreparable harm to the industry, both from the public relations and industrial relations standpoints."

In April 1960, T.M. Forbes, executive vice-president of GTMA, and representatives from several companies, including West Point (prior to a merger with Pepperell), attended a conference called by researchers at the Georgia Public Health Department, Emory University and

doctors' technical knowledge of brown lung.

And later, when Arend Bouhuys received a five-year \$73,000 federal grant to research the subject in May 1964, after he had been denied funding by the Georgia Public Health Department, Forbes refused to endorse the project, writing GTMA officials that "in all our years...we have never heard of a single case of [brown lung] or of any other ailment... that could be attributed to environmental conditions in which people work."

Strong evidence contradicted the textile industry's claim that it didn't know about the brown lung problem until the last decade.

industry do not know anything." Ten years later, Dr. Arthur Richardson, dean of the Emory Medical School, wrote Bouhuys at Yale recalling "the reaction of certain 'friends of the university' who tried to get me to stop the research."

The West Point-Pepperell settlement is important to brown lung opposition throughout the South, coming as it does after a long history of corporate coverup.

At a July victory party in Opelika, Nat Wilkins summed up the feelings of all the plaintiffs when he said, "We know the door has been opened, not just for ourselves but for everyone else who needs help, too."

Ira Burnim, the SPLC attorney who handled the cases, added, "Hopefully, it will move people who have breathing problems to take the necessary steps to receive just compensation."

Yet even Burnim is uncertain about the case's long-term implications, particularly in states like Alabama, where the Workman's Compensation program is weighted in favor of management and the Wilkins' case strategy for bypassing it is so costly and lengthy. In addition, health and safety organizations must address the broader issues textile workers currently face: industry economic problems, Reagan administration regulatory policy and union and legislative agendas. ■

Next time: What lies ahead for textile workers and the BLA?

Richard Guarasci teaches political science at St. Lawrence University. Gary Peck is a post-doctoral fellow in the sociology department at the University of Chicago.

IN THE WORLD

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

SEVERAL LEADING EUROPEAN politicians, mostly Social Democrats from northern countries, have promised to try to help break the financial blockade that has been tightening around Nicaragua. At a May 14 meeting in Amsterdam, concerned European politicians agreed to seek ways to combat unfair treatment of Nicaragua by the World Bank.

In a statement drafted at the meeting, the Committee of Western European Politicians and Parliamentarians in Support of Nicaragua said they were "appalled" that financial support for Nicaragua had

ment aid.

Nicaragua's Deputy Finance Minister William Huper presented a list of priority development projects and stressed that help in the search for financing these projects was "one of the most concrete and valuable" forms of European support for the Nicaraguan revolutionary process. He said European cooperation was "more vital to us than ever" since efforts to promote Nicaragua's socio-economic development "are being attacked on a scale without precedent by the Reagan administration."

"The cooperation of the multilateral financial organizations in the last two years has been drastically reduced," he told the gathering. "In 1979 and 1980, more than \$238 million were contracted



...SO YOU SEE, THE ENTIRE FUTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL SYSTEM HINGES ON YOUR CAPACITY FOR QUICK RECOVERY AND VAST ECONOMIC GROWTH.

WESTERN EUROPE

Leftists fight World Bank blockade

been "curtailed as an act of deliberate policy by the Reagan administration and, moreover, Nicaragua additionally has been deprived of financial resources from the private banks."

The statement has been signed by about 500 European parliamentarians and politicians, including the leader of the West German Social Democratic Party, Hans Jochen Vogel, Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, British Liberal Party leader David Steel, leaders of the British Labor Party, former Dutch Prime Minister Joop den Uyl and other social democrats from Belgium, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland and Ireland, as well as socialists from Greece and Spain.

When the World Bank refuses loans to a country, private banks follow suit. Those attending the meeting learned that Nicaragua had been turned down—on unusually vague grounds—for any new loans by the World Bank since February 1982. The unfair treatment seemed to be motivated by the World Bank's desire that Nicaragua implement an "adjustment policy" in line with usual International Monetary Fund prescriptions that squeeze the lower classes and preserve upper-class revenues. Instead, the Managua government has carried out an adjustment policy of its own that has kept its growth rate higher and its inflation rate lower than that of its neighbors, but at the same time has put the squeeze on the upper and middle classes, thus enabling the lower classes to maintain their income levels.

On purely economic grounds, Felipe Tomic, economic adviser to the *Fondo Internacional para la Reconstrucción*, said Nicaragua made efficient use of foreign aid and was a good bet for develop-

with the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. But between 1981 and 1982 the total contracted with these two institutions was barely \$92 million."

Huper stressed that Western Europe "could be the needed equilibrium factor, not only in economic terms but also in efforts to achieve peace in Central America."

Those attending the meeting agreed to the text of the strong statement later signed by Palme, Steel, Vogel and the other leaders before being sent to the speaker of the House of Representatives and the president of the Senate in Washington.

The statement recalled that barely four years ago "the people of Nicaragua overthrew at huge cost in terms of lives and resources, one of the most barbarous tyrannies ever witnessed in Latin America, whose hallmark was murder, disappearances and torture and which perpetuated a grotesque inequality without a hint of pluralism."

Against this background, coupled with natural disasters of flood and drought, the statement said, "it is utterly remarkable that in so short a time, the Nicaraguan government has promoted a successful program of land reform, provided better nutritional standards, the beginnings of a health service, purified water supplies, substantially reduced illiteracy, taken steps providing for the advancement of women, established an independent judiciary and done so much to improve the lives of the people."

So it is "unacceptable that attempts are being made to strangle the people of Nicaragua by economic isolation and military attack," the European politicians and parliamentarians went on to say, declaring that "the continual aggressive acts

to which Nicaragua has been and still is subjected constitute a grave violation of international law as embodied in the United Nations Charter."

The Europeans recalled that "Nicaragua, like all sovereign states, has the right to defend itself as stated in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter." They observed that "such military, political and economic acts of aggression inevitably inhibit the ability of Nicaragua to pursue its objectives of social justice and economic development for the benefit of its people and to promote the pluralism to which it is committed."

They promised to try to help bring peace to Central America as well as to obtain fair treatment for Nicaragua from European institutions and international banks and seek "fair treatment from the media" for Nicaragua.

Strategy for the fall.

This letter at least shows that there is a group of Western European politicians who are ready to make an issue of Nicaragua when their parliaments reconvene this autumn. Since most of them are now in opposition, to be effective they will need to be backed by extraparlimentary movements of indignation against Reagan administration moves in Central America. NATO governments that have agreed to deploy Eurostrategic nuclear missiles late this year appear in no mood to contradict Reagan administration declarations about the "Soviet threat to the Western hemisphere." Exaggerating "Soviet expansionism" is a necessary part of the campaign to get Europeans to accept the missile deployment.

Nevertheless, there is a natural, spontaneous sympathy in Europe for the revolutionaries in Central America—a sympathy that governments may not be able to ignore as the Reagan administration's multiple attacks become more blatant. The Sandinistas' repeated appeals to Europe for support are a sign of their determination to remain independent of both superpowers.

After François Mitterrand was elected in mid-1981, the appointment of one-time revolutionary theorist Régis Debray to the new French president's staff—plus many ringing statements by French Socialists—aroused hopes that France would be a major European supporter of the Sandinista revolution. But in reality, French material aid has remained considerably inferior to that provided by West Germany, the Netherlands, Spain and Sweden. Yet it has aroused the loudest U.S. complaints because it included military equipment.

A relatively small amount of French aid has taken the form of grants, mostly surplus grain shipments. The credits have been contingent on Franco-Nicaraguan agreement on an industrial project to be carried out by French contractors. In practice, Nicaraguan projects have tended to be too modest to interest the French—or else the French have been too expensive to win contracts submitted to international bidding. It was after being outbid on industrial projects that the French government signed the December 1981 contract for \$17 million worth of transport vehicles: two coastal vedettes, two helicopters and several trucks.

This was the deal that led to American



The current drift in Europe is to go along with the Reagan administration's Central America policy.

complaints that the French were arming the enemies of the U.S. And at the April congress of the Socialist International (SI) in Portugal, French Socialist Party international spokesman Jacques Huntzinger pointed with pride to France's military aid to Nicaragua to brand "pacifism" as contrary to the interests of Third World peoples struggling for liberation. France was proud of having aided the revolutionaries and would do so again, Huntzinger told the Socialist International.

But a Quai d'Orsay spokesman assured this reporter in late July that there had been no further French military aid to Nicaragua and it was unlikely there would be any, since Managua had made no requests. Spokesman Pierre Vimont stressed that France's aid to Nicaragua was the same type normally granted to African countries—a mixture of industrial credits, food grants and cultural, scientific and technical aid, mostly going to pay French teachers. No decision has been reached yet this year on how to spend the industrial credits.

Meanwhile, French Socialist members of parliament declined to sign the statement drafted in Amsterdam. Instead, they issued a statement of their own that stressed the worsening situation in Central America on a whole and supported efforts of the "Contadora group" (Mexico, Venezuela, Panama and Colombia) to promote peace.

On July 18, a front-page story in the *International Herald Tribune* reported that four Socialist International leaders—Willy Brandt, Felipe Gonzalez, Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela and Daniel Oduber of Costa Rica—had sent a warning letter to Managua that the Socialist International would withdraw its original support unless the Sandinista regime promptly implemented its original goals of political democracy. In response, the Spanish Socialist Party issued a statement saying that the four leaders had indeed sent a private letter to Sandinista leaders, but that it had not said what the *International Herald Tribune* had reported—that it was not an "ultimatum," and in any case it was not a Socialist International document.

The French Socialist Party complained that the four leaders were not authorized to take such initiatives.

There is a strong undercurrent of friction inside the Socialist International, notably between the German and French Socialists, who lead complaints over Willy Brandt's tendency as chairman to make the SI his own one-man show. There is also an unresolved political conflict between those who want to continue support to Nicaragua and those who want to pull back. The *Tribune* story seems to reflect both these conflicts and to mix them in a way designed to exacerbate both.

The current drift in Europe regarding Central America is to go along with Reagan administration policy. The epitome of this came at the Williamsburg summit, when European leaders meekly let themselves be bullied into endorsing Reagan's concept of indivisible global security—the implication being European support for American protection of Western "security interests" in Central America.

Thus, Central America is a test, among others, of the survival of Western European political autonomy.

CENTRAL AMERICA

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

OPPPOSITION TO THE REAGAN administration's Central American policy is growing. The House of Representatives' July 28 vote to cut off covert aid to Nicaraguan rebels represents the first official rebuke of the administration's policy.

Outside of Congress, many groups that previously focused on nuclear arms reduction are now turning to Central America. The Mobilization for Survival, which helped organize the June 12, 1982, anti-nuclear rally in New York's Central Park, is helping to organize a November 12 March on Washington to protest the administration's Central America policy. And about 60 organizations have been meeting regularly for the last month to plan a series of events for next year, including a National Lobbying Day and a Central American Summer, modeled on the 1968 Vietnam Summer.

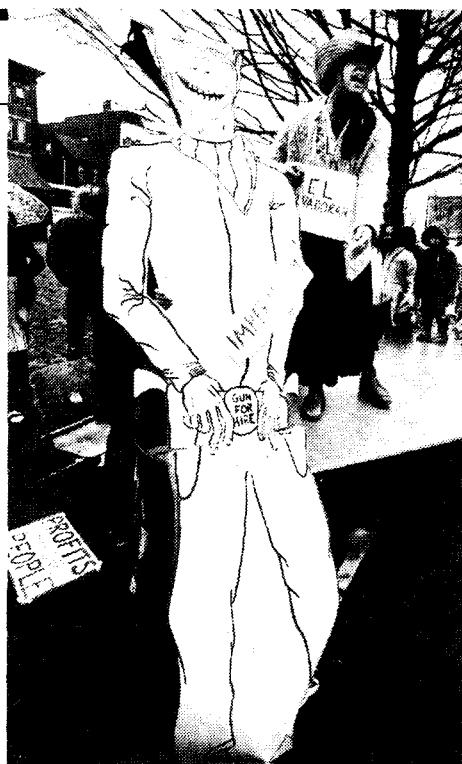
But questions remain about whether the growing anti-intervention movement can do more than prevent egregious actions by the Reagan administration. Public opposition to military involvement is strongly evident, but congress-

Dodd, a Foreign Relations Committee member, was appointed to give the response by Senate Minority Leader Robert Byrd (D-W.V.) at the recommendation of Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.). He received help on the speech from Kennedy speech writer Robert Shrum and from President Jimmy Carter's speech writer Patrick Caddell, and the speech was cleared by Byrd and House Speaker Thomas O'Neill. It was an attempt to develop a unified Democratic opposition.

Dodd led off with a list of "very important things" on which "all Americans stand in agreement," including opposition to "the establishment of Marxist states in Central America" and to "the creation of Soviet military states in Central America."

But Dodd argued that in the case of Central America, military means were not relevant to preventing Marxist states

New Reagan policy provokes backlash



Vince DeWitt

tions of Nicaragua's government. Massachusetts Democrat Barney Frank said, "If I listed governments in this world that I was willing to spend money to overthrow, Nicaragua would be doing pretty good."

While basking in the glow of victory, most opponents of Reagan policy recognized that the Boland-Zablocki vote could not be extended to El Salvador. "Covert action was easy," said Cindy Buhl, who coordinates Central American policy for the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. "El Salvador is the hardest issue."

Organized opposition.

The churches have provided the most organized opposition to the administration's foreign policy. The Center of Concern, a Washington-based Catholic organization, gathered signatures from more than 265 Catholic communities opposing covert aid. The president of the U.S. Catholic Conference, the organization of American bishops, issued a statement opposing "any form of U.S. military intervention." The highest official in the Presbyterian Church issued a similar statement.

During the last year, the most important groups opposing administration policy have been the Quakers, acting through the American Friends Service Committee, the Maryknoll Fathers and Sisters, the National Council of Churches, Clergy and Laity Concerned and the official bodies of the Catholics, Methodists, Lutherans, Presbyterians and the United Church of Christ. Some of these groups and orders have been close to the Nicaraguan government and the FDP/FMLN opposition in El Salvador. But most of the church groups, typified by those who belong to the Interreligious Task Force on El Salvador, have not aligned themselves with any side and advocate negotiations with all parties.

There are two main anti-intervention organizations in the U.S. that have included, but are not limited to, churches: the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy and CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. The two organizations have substantially different political approaches.

The Coalition, which is composed of 50 national organizations, was originally staffed by veterans of the Indochina Peace Campaign, which was an attempt by Tom Hayden and others to direct the antiwar movement at specific congressional and legislative targets. The Coalition is preoccupied with congressional action, and it was one of the main groups marshalling support for the Boland-Zablocki bill.

The churches have most openly opposed Reagan's foreign policy.

Its political approach is designed to appeal to the wide spectrum of organizations that belong to it, thus it has not backed either the government of El Salvador or the opposition FDP/FMLN. Its principal demand is for a peaceful negotiated solution. It also opposes foreign arms shipments to El Salvador. According to Buhl, many Coalition members share "the average American's concern about Communism and Soviet adventurism."

Coalition members have bitterly denounced the Salvadoran government for its human rights violations, but Buhl insists that if a new opposition-led government became a "gross violator of human rights, you'd see my constituency rise up against them."

CISPES, which says it has 300 committees around the country, took over the support network that backed the Sandi-

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Protestors at a March 13 demonstration called by CISPES.

sional Democrats are still too divided to mobilize it against the administration.

A party divided.

Regarding El Salvador, Democrats are divided among "hawks," who back the administration's policy of victory over the Salvadoran opposition, "centrists," who advocate continued military aid along with negotiations that include the opposition, and "liberals," who want the Reagan administration to threaten the Salvadoran government with an aid cutoff if they don't support unconditional negotiations.

The divisions in Congress surfaced after Ronald Reagan's April 27 speech on Central America and Connecticut Democratic Sen. Christopher Dodd's reply.

or Soviet military bases; only economic and political reform could accomplish that. "If Central America were not racked with poverty, there would be no revolution...if Central America were not racked with injustices, there would be no revolution. In short, there would be nothing for the Soviets to exploit."

Two days later at a breakfast meeting with reporters, House Majority Leader James Wright (D-Texas) attacked Dodd's speech. Wright warned, "It is a dangerous exercise for people to club the president on a delicate matter of policy." Wright's concern—and that of other leading Democrats—was that Reagan would be able to argue in 1984 that the Democrats "lost El Salvador." Disavowing support of the Salvadoran government "would be as destructive as the McGovern view of Vietnam," Wright said.

Then publicist Ben Wattenberg argued the case in the *Washington Post*: "If the

Democrats end up being seen as the party that makes it difficult or impossible for the U.S. to respond in Central America, it is entirely plausible, perhaps even likely, that Democrats in Congress will suffer and that Ronald Reagan will be re-elected in 1984 precisely on the wings of this allegedly unpopular issue."

According to American University political scientist William Leogrande, who has worked closely with congressional Democrats, they were not considering 1972 so much as 1952, when Wisconsin Republican Sen. Joseph McCarthy used the question of who lost China against them and was credited with defeating several prominent Democratic senators. "Wounds of McCarthyism might be healed, but there is still a lot of scar tissue," Leogrande said.

But the reason Democrats fear being blamed for losing El Salvador is that many of them worry that if Reagan did follow their policy, El Salvador would become a "Marxist state"—an outcome that has no support on Capitol Hill, according to Leogrande.

The Democrats can argue confidently that Reagan's military strategy will make far more enemies than friends for the U.S., but they cannot demonstrate that their conciliatory approach will allow the Christian Democrats, not the far left, to take power in El Salvador.

Had the vote on the Boland-Zablocki bill to cut off aid to anti-Sandinista rebels been taken in May or June, the administration probably would have defeated the bill. But a series of ungainly escalations in July, led by the announcement of military maneuvers in Honduras and off the Nicaraguan coast, awoke in Congress memories of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution of 1964, which President Lyndon Johnson used to justify the escalation of the Vietnam war. House leaders recognized that if the Boland-Zablocki bill did not pass, the Reagan administration could interpret its defeat as a mandate to escalate the war during the next six months.

The bill passed because substantial members of centrist and even hawkish Democrats voted for it. These included Indiana's Lee Hamilton, Oklahoma's Dave McCurdy and Wright. But in joining the liberals, the hawks made clear that they were not challenging Reagan's overall policy. Hamilton, a senior member of the House Intelligence and Foreign Affairs Committee, insisted that the bill "does not seek to undermine the president's Central American policy, only to change one aspect of it: the covert action against Nicaragua."

Even liberal Democrats who spoke on behalf of the bill prefaced or concluded their remarks with obligatory denuncia-

Mei Rosenthal

Continued from page 9

nistas' war against the Somoza regime. Many of its leaders are too young to have participated in the antiwar movement. So perhaps for that reason CISPES appears to be replicating a '60s group.

While the Coalition's offices look like those of an unkempt junior Congress member, the revolutionary posters dotting CISPES' wall recall Berkeley's Vietnam Day Committee. In explaining their position, CISPES, like many anti-intervention groups, advocates the Salvadoran people's right to decide their future without U.S. interference. "Our primary goal is to support the people of El Salvador in their struggle for liberation and self-determination," CISPES' Director Heidi Tarver said.

CISPES' activities include raising money for clinics in the areas controlled by the guerrilla opposition in El Salvador, and it openly supports the FDP/FMLN. CISPES officials reconcile the slogan of self-determination with their support for the FDP/FMLN by arguing that only U.S. intervention has suppressed majority support for guerrillas. "The majority of people support the FDP/FMLN as leadership," Tarver said.

CISPES appears to have more student support than the Coalition and other anti-intervention organizations. (Both

Buhl and Tarver blamed the lack of widespread student opposition to Central American policy on the absence of a draft—an observation that should give pause to the student leftists who have consistently fought against installation of a Democratic system of military recruitment in favor of filling the military with those who would otherwise be unemployed.)

CISPES, which has organized numerous small actions around the U.S., is now focusing on the November 12 March on Washington. The Coalition has not yet endorsed the March. Some members say they are wary of the organizations already identified with the march—from the pro-Soviet U.S. Peace Council to the Communist Workers' Party—and are critical of one-shot demonstrations.

In the past month, the Coalition has met regularly with 60 other groups to plan national actions for 1984. Under consideration are a National Lobbying Day similar to that sponsored by the freeze campaign, a Central American Summer in which student volunteers would knock on doors and a series of targeted races in the 1984 elections. Both Buhl and Tarver expect civil disobedience to play an increasingly visible role in the anti-intervention movement.

Labor has not played an important role in opposing the administration's pol-

icy. Indeed, Lane Kirkland and the AFL-CIO staff have been closely identified with Reagan's policy. But in August 1981, 13 national unions—including the United Autoworkers, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, the National Education Association, the American Federation of State, Municipal and County Employees and the Machinists—organized the National Labor Committee in Support of Human Rights and Democracy in El Salvador. According to Director David Dyson, the Committee has avoided taking sides in El Salvador and has championed a "political solution" rather than a military one.

Its activities, including a recent trip to El Salvador, have been low-level, reflecting the unions' preoccupation with economic survival. But Dyson said he has felt "a lot of pressure to get moving" since the Reagan administration announced its plans last month to escalate American involvement. Dyson also reports that Committee members have been invited to meet with Kirkland, who sits on Reagan's 12-man Commission on Central America, chaired by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

According to Dyson, the Committee has not endorsed the November 12 march because "some of the groups on the left are not acceptable to labor unions."

The Committee's discomfort with some groups endorsing the march points to a weakness of the anti-interventionist movement. Lacking political leadership from Congress or from prominent Democrats, many anti-intervention groups continually worry about being identified with small and otherwise insignificant pro-Soviet or Marxist-Leninist organizations.

Whether congressional Democrats and other prominent Democrats are able to provide such leadership depends on three factors: First, whether the Reagan administration, with the help of the Kissinger Commission, is able to co-opt the centrist Democrats in Congress. If the Salvadoran war gets out of hand and Congress is faced with a choice between substantial escalation and forcing the Salvadoran government to negotiate, Congress is likely to press strongly for the latter.

Second, congressional leadership depends, unfortunately, on a theoretical perspective that is presently lacking in Congress and much of the left. Congressional Democrats must come to terms with the kind of government that Cuba has and Nicaragua may soon have: committed to economic development (barring U.S. embargos) and an improved distribution of wealth, but not to the expansion of political liberties. The point of comparison for Cuba is not Sweden, but Haiti or even Brazil. And the model proffered cannot be the U.S., but at best Mexico, with its one-party populism, a free press and some freedom for pressure groups.

As long as the left persists in idealizing these regimes—for instance, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin's recent comparison in the *New York Times* between the democracy prevailing in Nicaragua and that prevailing in the U.S. during the Articles of Confederation—the congressional leadership is less likely to see the light.

The third factor is, of course, public opinion, which regarding the Reagan administration's policy has remained steadfastly in opposition through the twists and turns of congressional sentiment. Opinion polls taken by the *Los Angeles Times* before and after Reagan's April 27 speech showed no appreciable change.

As William Schneider, editor of the *National Journal's* "Opinion Outlook," observed, the public is not so much worried about "another Vietnam" as about whether the "defense of Central America is vital to the national interest." A majority has always believed that it is not and that the U.S. should therefore not be involved.

Schneider does not accept Wattenberg's view that the Democratic opposition to the Reagan administration's policy could be turned against them. He argues that in 1952 "no one cared who lost China," but everyone cared which candidate was most likely to get the U.S. out of Korea. In 1964, American voters

again chose the candidate who promised less, not more, involvement.

Voters' support for Reagan in 1980 was not based on his intention to intervene in El Salvador, but on his promise to restore American strength vis a vis the Soviet Union.

If Schneider is right, the Democrats could win, rather than lose, on their opposition to the Reagan administration's Central American policy. Indeed, that may be their best chance for victory in 1984.

March

Continued from page 3

fort. It's not set up the same way. It's not labor's statement, so let's not play the numbers game."

Rankin says, "The context for labor is: our priority is Solidarity Day III—the local demonstrations in 140 cities. We don't see any polarization because of that."

March organizers are currently expanding their list of co-chairs to include Tony Bonilla (LULAC), Catholic Archbishop James Hickey of Washington D.C., Rabbi Alexander Schindler and a yet unnamed labor leader (Lane Kirkland's schedule would not permit him to serve), in addition to Mrs. King, Rep. Fauntroy, Rev. Lowery, Rev. Benjamin Hooks (NAACP), Rev. Jesse Jackson, Stevie Wonder, Asia Bennett (American Friends Service Committee) and Judy Goldsmith (National Organization for Women).

Finances have been a final hurdle. Originally, the convenors thought they'd need a million-dollar budget. But, Brazile says, "we've received so much in-kind, we'll cover our costs with \$150,000, and we've already raised half of that."

In 1963, by contrast, money flowed. Philanthropist Stephen Currier of the Taconic Foundation raised \$800,000 from liberal donors to be distributed among major civil rights groups, to unify black leadership and slow the turn toward militancy. (For example, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC], the *enfant terrible* of the movement, only shared \$15,000 of this money.)

The parallels between 1963 and 1983 are still striking. The 1963 march had its controversy over themes, too. The Catholic Archbishop of Washington threatened not to appear on the platform unless John Lewis of SNCC softened his call for "nonviolent revolution" and his statement that SNCC did not "wholeheartedly support" the Kennedy civil rights bill because it would not protect blacks from police brutality.

The leaders of the 1963 march ended up meeting inside the Lincoln Memorial to edit Lewis' speech, which, even softened, cried out, "The party of Kennedy is the party of Eastland...the party of Javits is the party of Goldwater.... Where is our party? Where is the political party that will make it unnecessary to have marches on Washington?"

But politics in the U.S. have fallen back a ways from that call. Now the best Americans can do is remember the dream:

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal...."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveholders will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the people's injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope.
Tom Blanton works for the Villers Foundation.

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IRD

Continued from page 6

Jessup, who could not be reached for comment, has said in the past that he does no IRD work on AFL-CIO time, and that he carefully separates his job from his outside activities. Church officials insist that he used his labor post to enhance IRD's credibility.

IRD official Penn Kemble charged that the churches are engaged in a "McCarthyite" crusade to punish Jessup on the job for his activities as a Methodist layman. Kemble, himself a one-time AFL-CIO staffer, said the churches are trying to force Jessup "not to exercise his freedom as a church member by going after his job." He said the church officials are attacking "the whole idea of a pluralistic labor movement" and proving their "inability to comprehend democratic institutions."

"That's a lot of crap. I think it's crazy and irresponsible for a labor official to get publicly involved in...scraps with churches that are supporters of the unions," responded a unionist hostile to the IRD.

"If you're on the AFL-CIO staff and running around with something like the Revolutionary Communist Party, you'd get bounced in a minute," said another unionist. "People should be able to do whatever they want with their own time, but it doesn't really work that way unless they have some sympathy for what you're doing."

Church leaders insist that they are not trying to get Jessup fired, but want the AFL-CIO to publicly repudiate his extra-curricular activities. Reverend Philip Newell, a Presbyterian Church economic justice official, said that Jessup's dual identification with the IRD and the AFL-CIO in the *Reader's Digest*, *Time* magazine and elsewhere has made it harder for

him and other church officials to convince local churches to work with the unions.

"We've worked so hard to build coalitions down here where lots of people hate the labor movement because they think it's full of Communists or mobsters, or whatever," said a Methodist leader in the South. "Just when we think we've neutralized that, we get attacked in *Reader's Digest* by some guy they identify as a labor leader who says the church is supporting Communists."

AFL-CIO organizing director Alan Kistler, co-chair of the Religion and Labor Conference, said there is no basis for the church groups' demand, because the federation has no relationship with the IRD. Nonetheless, some trade unionists are quietly taking the churches' side.

New dynamics.

The conflict appears to be altering the dynamics of church-labor relations. In recent years, unions had forged increasingly close ties with Catholics and Protestant bodies to fight plant closings, organize low-income workers, support government social spending and lobby against Reagan administration domestic policies.

Church and labor generally avoided foreign and military policy, which they assumed would divide them, since the churches were generally "dovish," and the unions "hawkish." But that assumption has less meaning with each passing year.

The hawks were the first to realize that church and union leaders can work together on foreign policy. SD-USA, a key force in labor's conservative wing, has increasingly cooperated with the right, including religious conservatives, on international issues. The IRD is one product of that alliance.

Meanwhile, an increasing number of union officials—often members or supporters of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)—broke with AFL-CIO foreign policy tradition to support the peace movement and oppose American intervention in the Third World. Thus,

top officials in some international unions find themselves fighting with SD-USA inside the labor movement and aligned with church leaders in the peace movement.

Union officials like Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Secretary-Treasurer Jack Sheinkman and Machinists' President William Winpisinger, who dissent from much of the AFL-CIO foreign policy, have privately informed AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland of their support for the churches' protests.

IRD's Kemble charges that the church people are really trying to "muscle into" the labor movement's foreign policy agenda-setting process. "They're saying, 'You've got to agree with our position on international issues, or we won't work with you.'"

One leader said the churches' demand was out of bounds because the AFL-CIO has no ties to the IRD.

Counters a UCC social action official: "The subterranean issue is the control of the [AFL-CIO] foreign policy apparatus by a very right-wing, cold-war, anti-Communist group."

Some participants in joint religious and labor actions argue that the church officials should stop squawking about the IRD. "I'm always being asked why I work [on economic issues] with liberal groups that support abortion," said an official at the U.S. Catholic Conference. He thinks that churches should accept the fact that allies on domestic issues may be adversaries on foreign policy. At the AFL-CIO Kistler worried that the IRD dispute could sidetrack religion and labor from their common ground "in the soil

of concern for human rights and values."

Nonetheless, more unionists are taking the complaints more seriously than church leaders expected. "The unions are weak and growing weaker, they don't have many friends, and they can't afford to lose the few they do have," was one church official's explanation.

He and others cited three recent exchanges:

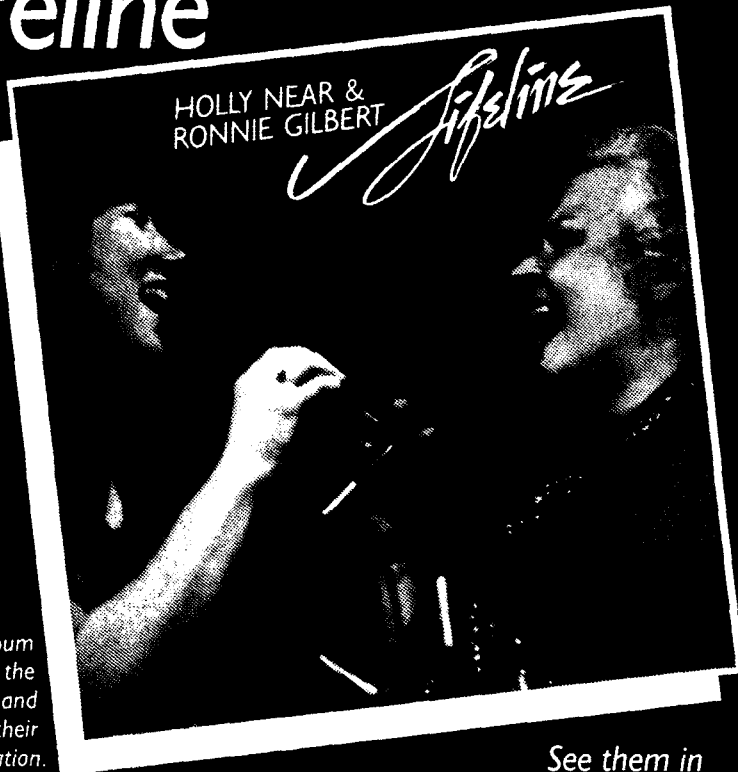
- UCC officials made IRD an issue in a meeting with Steelworkers Union President Lloyd McBride. McBride was seeking church support for a campaign against imports of British steel. McBride responded sympathetically without making any commitments. Labor sources say at least one member of his staff is involved in drafting a proposed labor statement supporting the embattled church groups.

- The Interreligious Economic Crisis Organization Network (IECON) delayed action on an AFL-CIO industrial union department conference request that it co-sponsor a conference on plant closings and industrial dislocation. An IECON leaders said he told the unionists, "If the right wing of the church was attacking labor, you'd come to us for help.... We need the same support." The department responded by assigning a staff member to study the IRD-church controversy. The department hopes to get the AFL-CIO to publicly disavow the IRD," said an AFL-CIO source.

- The Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR), raised the "IRD issue" when the International Typographers Union appealed for help in a shareholder campaign against an anti-union newspaper company. After ICCR joined the campaign, Typographers President Joseph Bingle sent AFL-CIO President Kirkland a letter effusively praising ICCR. The letter's purpose, said both church and labor staffers, was to remind Kirkland that unions need religious support.

Steve Askin is the Washington bureau chief of the *National Catholic Reporter*. This is an expanded version of a story that recently appeared in *NCR*.

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THE WAR AWAY

By Cheryl Romo

SACRAMENTO, CA

THE GRAYING MEN LIVE IN middle-class tract homes with well-tended lawns. They worry about the economy and how they will pay for their children's college educations. Most are in their middle 50s, with a life of turmoil and violence behind them that most Americans find difficult to comprehend.

These men are former South Vietnamese military officers and government officials who worked closely with the American forces prior to leaving their homeland in 1975. Each day they go to their button-down bureaucratic jobs and, from all outward appearances, seem to have adjusted well in their new country.

It has been eight years since the sound of gunfire officially ceased after three decades of bloody civil war in Vietnam. But the sound of gunfire still reverberates in their memories. So much so that for them the war still continues. They are the leaders of the Vietnamese Resistance movement, and their spare time is spent raising money and planning the overthrow of the Communist government in Vietnam.

According to a spokesman for the Sacramento County Sheriff's Department, there are "strong rumors" that these men are actively recruiting an international army and perhaps even conducting military training in Northern California. Other sources within the local Vietnamese community itself indicate many refugees have already left the U.S. and have returned to their country to fight a guerrilla war.

The exact number of those involved in the resistance movement is unknown, but various sources within the 3,000-member Vietnamese community in Sacramento say the majority of the refugees, most of whom still have relatives living in Communist-controlled Vietnam, morally support the movement. But leaders of the various factions of the resistance are quick to refute accusations that recruitment is taking place here or that soldiers are being trained in California. They also vehemently deny that money raised is being used to purchase weapons and other military supplies.

Though the resistance leaders interviewed differed in many respects, they are of one voice in their abhorrence of Communism.

The fight for freedom.

Sacramento is the home of Pham Van Lieu. Lieu, a 54-year-old former colonel in the South Vietnamese Army, maintains one identity as the civic-minded president of the Vietnamese Community, a volunteer organization that publishes a monthly newsletter and assists incoming Indochinese refugees. Lieu is also the U.S. leader of the largest Vietnamese

A drive to crush the Communists in Southeast Asia is being plotted by Vietnamese immigrants in California.

paramilitary resistance organization known to exist in the world.

The National United Front for the Liberation of Viet-Nam (NUFLVN) was officially organized on March 8, 1982, and now has local committees around the world. In his official position as overseas commissioner for the NUFLVN, Lieu travels extensively in the U.S. and abroad coordinating resistance activities and raising money for the continued fighting in and around Vietnam.

The goal of the NUFLVN, he explains, is to ensure that the 50 million Vietnamese who remain in that battle-scarred country will one day enjoy the "freedom that we enjoy in the U.S." He predicts that a "spontaneous revolution" will soon occur in that country because the Vietnamese, like Americans, "love freedom" and will rise up against their oppressors and bring peace to their country.

In the meantime, Lieu says, he and other resistance leaders consider themselves "political exiles" and will do everything possible from their positions here and abroad to support the resistance both morally and financially.

But Lieu denies that the money raised by his resistance organization goes to purchase arms and other military supplies. Most weapons being used for fighting are from "caches that the Army of South Vietnam left behind and from deserters. What we need from the outside is medical supplies and clothes," he says. "We deny the source of rumors."

Yet, according to a NUFLVN booklet published last year, one NUFLVN goal is to build up "armed combat units and armed propaganda teams" to combine "armed struggle with political struggle in order to prepare our people for the general insurrection to eliminate the enemies."

Charles Van Nugent of Sacramento—better known as General Nguyen Van Chuc, a former South Vietnamese cabinet member and the former chief of his country's corps of engineers—says life in the U.S. is a "comedown" from the life he knew in Vietnam prior to fleeing that country in 1975.

And Nugent, who says he's a leader in

Y FROM HOME

faction of the Vietnamese Resistance movement, says he has every intention of returning home in the near future—as long as the Communist regime is overthrown.

In English-as-a-second-language instructor with a local school district, Nugent says he's involved with a covert faction of the resistance that is "working secretly" in all the major cities of the country, with refugee populations. The organization, which he will not identify, is one of "eight major" Vietnamese Resistance groups in this country.

According to Nugent, people involved in the secret organization are former government and military leaders in South Vietnam who were trained in intelligence work by American forces.

Organization members "make teams, take responsibility, follow foreign policy in developing nations" and monitor reports out of Vietnam. They also issue orders to those now engaged in guerrilla combat in and around Vietnam, he says. And the fighting is being financed by money coming from the U.S., although he declines to reveal the source. "Currently there's no need for refugees to come and abroad to return home to fight," he explains, and the resistance forces already there are primarily using jungle warfare techniques in an attempt to "assassinate and create constant fear" among the regular Vietnamese Communist troops.

Recent media reports back up his claim that the resistance forces are making a comeback in Vietnam. For example, a recent article in the *Washington Post* said that "Commies" are causing problems for the Vietnamese government.

Like Lieu, Nugent predicts that a "passive insurrection" will take place in Vietnam, claiming it will occur when his organization gives "the signal" from the U.S.

Nugent suggests the "right time" will be when the Soviet Union, the major arms supplier to the current Vietnamese government, becomes preoccupied in other areas of the world—or when "Uncle Sam" becomes involved with "Communist Russia" in the Mideast.

In the U.S., Nugent says, his organization is busy rooting out those refugees it believes are Communists or Communist sympathizers. To accomplish this, his organization is actively involved in interviewing new Indochinese refugees who arrive in this country.

According to Nugent, all recent arrivals are suspect. "We never know. They may be trained. They may be a fifth column. Communists trained whole families. Communists have to hide themselves because as soon as we know them they will get in trouble..."

He says his resistance group "locates all Communists in every town"—regardless of their nationality—and re-

ports them to local law enforcement agencies. But officials at the Sacramento County Sheriff's Department and the Sacramento police say they have received no such reports.

Nugent also says his group suspects there are Communist sympathizers working within local refugee assistance programs here and elsewhere, "but they never show that they are Communists. If we know they are Communists they get in trouble." Asked what kind of trouble, Nugent says, "Big trouble."

"They try to buy a reputation that they are nationalists, that they are conservative," he says. "But later on when comes to proper time...due to the organizations we have in every town, they will have no chance. We will send the women and children after them."

A community divided.

Though most of the Vietnamese refugees interviewed are openly sympathetic to the goals of the resistance movement, there have been indications recently that there are divisions within the community in Sacramento and elsewhere. Death threats, tire slashings and extortion attempts have been reported against those who don't support the Vietnamese Resistance movement in Sacramento.

Though these claims are uncorroborated and haven't been reported to local police, there has been a dramatic rise in resistance-related violence throughout the state and elsewhere that is well-documented:

- Duong Trong Lam, 27, a social worker and anti-war activist during the Vietnam era, was gunned down on a San Francisco street in July of 1981. Lam, who published a Vietnamese newsletter called *Cai Dinh Lang*, was a Communist, Nugent says, adding that his organization analyzed Lam's newsletter and "found sentences" showing he was an infiltrator.

"That man tried to encourage people abroad to support the existing government in Vietnam," says Nugent.

Immediately after Lam's death, two anti-Communist Vietnamese organizations claimed responsibility for the social worker's death: the Anti-Communist Viets Organization and the Vietnamese Organization for Communist Extermination.

- In February of this year a conference at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles drew noted American and Vietnamese journalists, military figures and other personalities from the Vietnam era together. The subject of the conference was "Vietnam Reconsidered: Lessons from a War." Outside, reported the *Christian Science Monitor*, angry crowds of anti-Communist Vietnamese protesters gathered to denounce what they called a "pro-Hanoi" gathering.

Some of the scheduled participants in the conference received threats of vio-

lence from right-wing Vietnamese organizations and had to be provided with security and secret hotel accommodations. One of those who had to be protected was Ngo Vinh Long, another former anti-war leader, who last spring was the subject of an assassination attempt.

- According to a report in the February/March issue of *Mother Jones*, Nguyen Dam Phong, a Houston newspaper editor, was murdered last August because he questioned the way money was being collected for the Vietnam Resistance movement.

- In the same article, *Mother Jones* reported that editors of a Vietnamese newspaper in San Jose said they received death threats when they challenged the practices of the NUFLVN and its policies.

According to mental health officials, there are many reasons the Vietnamese Resistance movement is just beginning to take shape now—eight years after the initial wave of refugees began to resettle in this country.

Initially, some counselors say, the Vietnamese refugees were too busy learning a new language and adapting to American culture to be concerned about what was happening in their homeland. But many quickly mastered the language and eventually graduated from college. Others opened small businesses or went to work for the government.

Yet some of the refugees, particularly the older ones with little education, seemed unable to adapt. And when the U.S. economy began to stumble and they were unable to find even the most minimally skilled jobs, they retreated into depression and despair and longed to return to their country.

Then there were those former soldiers, who, for the most part, had never known anything but war. One community counselor says, "Many of the refugees here were in the army. Some spent their whole life, 30 years, in the military.... There are a lot of people who miss the war."

Roger Hoffman, supervisor of refugee services for the county of Sacramento, adds, "There's an incredible amount of trauma and an incredible amount of guilt about family members not being able to get out [of Vietnam] or who were left behind."

He said many refugees are suffering from a "survival syndrome," similar to that suffered by the Holocaust victims who survived the Nazi concentration camps after World War II.

Adding to this stress, counselors say, some of the former military men are beginning to see cracks in their formerly strong family structure, where the head of household traditionally makes all the decisions in important matters.

In recent years a good proportion of new immigrants to the U.S. have been young people, many of whom escaped

Continued on page 22

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

PUBLIC SCHOOL COLLAPSE?

VERNON JARRETT (ITT, JULY 13) IMPLIES that only conservatives support private school tuition tax credits and voucher plans. If he is correct, why do leftists oppose or ignore such proposals? Why do leftists support an institution of public schools that by and large reinforces the values of the power structure (thereby maintaining its base of power) while destroying the creativity of our children?

Leftists support public schools because public schools assure universal schooling (not necessarily universal education) to all children. Public schools are a fundamentally democratic institution.

The only problem is that by any objective standard of education, public schools don't work. Public schools foster the lowest common denominator rather than the development of the individual. Public schools are wedded to the past, without a vision of the future. Over time, upper-middle-class parents will become increasingly conscious of the failure of our public schools and place their children into private schools. Only the children of those who can't afford private schools will remain in public schools. As political support for public schools wanes, the public school system will eventually collapse.

To avoid this scenario, let us support the revitalization of American education. Because it will be insufficient to reform public schools from within, I encourage the establishment of community-based private schools. Private schools offer a source of innovation to public schools, as well as a source of competition, which could ultimately help reform our public schools.

If private school tuition tax credits and voucher plans can increase the financial viability of private schools, they may, in the end, also offer the best hope for the preservation and revitalization of our public schools. If instead it turns out that the public school, like the dinosaur, was destined for extinction, we will at least have contributed to the creation of its successor.

—Bruce Poster
Santa Fe, N.M.

GOING TOO FAR

WHILE I SHARE ANN TATTERSALL'S dismay over efforts to trivialize the problems involved in abortion (ITT, Letters, July 27), it's going too far in the opposite direction to term such services, rendered at the patient's request, an "invasion of a woman's body," particularly when the object of such procedures is not to invade, but to interrupt and reverse an invasion al-

ready in progress—which is what every unwilling pregnancy boils down to.

Instead of hacking away at our troubled sisters, we should be struggling to amend inequities that only aggravate their problems, such as the practice of supplying all the medical help needed by impoverished women undergoing full-term pregnancies while frequently denying the slightest aid to those seeking medical release.

We need to make it clearer to men, too, that it is male sperm, not unfertilized ova, that produce catastrophic pregnancies, reluctant abortions, unwanted children and miserable mothers, and it is time they recognized their own responsibility in such matters.

Most of all, we should be mobilizing more energetically to defend ourselves from the efforts of religious bigots and misogynists in Washington to clamp a federal lien on the uterus of every female in the country, irrespective of her own health, creed and conscience. It is hard to imagine any mass invasion more dehumanizing and debasing than that, so why don't we get going?

—Audrey Patton
Minneapolis, Minn.

MARSHALL ISLANDS

IT WAS GOOD TO SEE THE MARSHALL Islands mentioned in your "In Short" piece "Bomb then, buy now" (ITT, July 13). However, the information offered was only marginally correct.

The Marshall Islands, a group of islands in Micronesia, were the site of U.S. above-ground nuclear weapons testing from 1946-1963. During those years the U.S. detonated 66 bombs, completely evaporating six islands, contaminating many others and dislocating hundreds of people from their homes. Today, more than 30 years later, the Marshallese continue to suffer the consequences of the U.S. programs. The Micronesian culture no longer exists as

it once did—self-sufficient and relatively isolated from the rest of the world. More importantly, hundreds of Marshallese and thousands of U.S. servicemen still suffer from illnesses caused by exposure to the radioactive fallout from the atmospheric tests. Health problems—including thyroid cancer, leukemia, tumors, miscarriages and stillbirths—are on the increase. Despite the U.S. package of \$183.7 million in compensation, most islanders feel it is impossible to put a price tag on the untold damage done to this and to future generations.

To add to the matter, the Marshall Islands remain a major site of U.S. weapons testing. The Kwajalein Missile Range (KMR) is the target for tests of U.S. inter-continental ballistic missiles, including the Minuteman, Polaris and, most recently, the MX. Missiles launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California land in the Kwajalein lagoon—some 4,000 miles west of California. In order to carry out these tests, the U.S. has created a system of apartheid in the Pacific. Removed from their island homes, thousands of Kwajalein landowners have been relocated to Ebeye Island—an area of 66 acres with a population close to 9,000 people. There the Marshallese live in substandard housing amid appalling sanitary conditions. Marshallese have become totally dependent on jobs at KMR because they are prohibited from using much of the 900-square mile lagoon at Kwajalein for fishing or from using the 93 islands for agriculture. Each day the Marshallese who work at the KMR are subjected to body searches before they are forced to leave the island and return to Ebeye. Meanwhile, the U.S. Army personnel on Kwajalein live in country club-like surroundings.

All this is taking place as the U.S. attempts to end 14 years of negotiating by having the Marshallese agree to a Compact of Free Association (CFA). The CFA will end the U.S. role as trustee of the islands by giving domestic affairs responsibilities to the Marshallese and leaving security matters in the hands of the U.S. government. The Marshallese will vote on the CFA on September 7, yet nothing in the CFA guarantees that those living on Ebeye will be treated as first class citizens on their islands. The CFA will eventually need U.S. congressional approval. U.S. activists can make the link between the escalating arms race and the growing U.S. militarization in the Pacific. For more information: U.S. Nuclear Free Pacific Network, 942 Market Street, Room 712, San Francisco, CA 94102; (415) 434-2988.

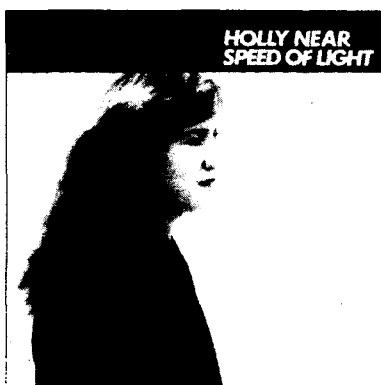
—Barbara Fields
Washington, D.C.

QUERY

THE CHARLES H. KERR COMPANY the world's oldest nonsectarian publisher of socialist and labor literature, is putting together a compendium entitled *Who's Who in U.S. Prisons: 1984*. The book will gather short sketches of those imprisoned for labor, feminist, environmentalist, antiracist, peace, anti-imperialist and other political activities and for exercising free speech. It will also include persons whose offenses are not strictly political but who are victims of racist, sexist and anti-gay prosecutions. The Kerr Company asks defense committees and civil liberties organizations, as well as prisoners themselves, to write Charles H. Kerr Company, 1740 Greenleaf Ave., Suite 7, Chicago, IL 60626, with information on such cases.

—Dave Roediger
Chicago

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SHANGHAI JOURNAL



Chinese universities haven't lost their focus on China but are increasingly open to Western culture.

Opening doors at Fudan University

By Henry Rosemont Jr.

THE CHINESE MINISTRY OF Education classifies Fudan University as both a key school and a comprehensive university. The former signifies that Fudan receives special support and guidance from the central government in order to integrate its teaching and research capabilities with China's overall plans for educational, economic and technological development. Comprehensive universities are akin to liberal arts and sciences institutions in the U.S., and are the exception rather than the rule in China, where specialized institutes—in engineering, medicine, art, education, etc.—dominate.

Fudan reflects well the quality and spirit of the larger Shanghai area in which it is located. An openness to Western ways—artistic and cultural no less than scientific—does not alter the fact that it is fundamentally and unmistakably Chinese.

Founded in 1905 by Ma Shangbo and other revolutionary scholars, the University differed at the outset from Qing government-sponsored schools of the day by offering Western classes. At the same time, it differed from the missionary-sponsored schools by continuing to give pride of place to Chinese history and literature, and by offering instruction in all subjects in Chinese. Further, its founders intended Fudan to differ from both government and missionary institutions by giving academic credit to applied subjects, and by combining scholarship with movements for social change.

Thus, within 20 years of its founding, the university had an experimental middle school that employed Western pedagogic techniques and was supervised by the Department of Teacher Training; a psychology research institute; a law school; a cooperative bank on the campus run by the Department of Commerce; schools for worker literacy located in Shanghai factories, staffed solely by volunteers from the student body; and Fudan endeavored to have all of this—and the rest of the curriculum as well—managed by a laboratory participatory democracy that included everyone affiliated with the university.

Fudan has changed considerably since that time: the middle school is a rigorous and demanding stepping-stone to higher education, no longer experimental. The psychology research institute has closed (long before psychology became a pseudo-science in China). The School of Commerce was recently reincarnated as

the Department of Management Science, and law is a sub-specialization in the Department of International Politics. Responsibility for worker literacy now lies elsewhere, and effecting changes in the curriculum by participatory-democratic methods is as much, and as little, in evidence here as it is at most major universities in the U.S.

Yet the university continues to be different. The literary movement known as "wounded" or "scar" literature takes its name from the title of a short story written in 1978 by an older Fudan student majoring in Chinese literature. The story by Lu Xinhua depicts the manifold agonies endured by many during the Cultural Revolution, and was first written on large sheets of paper pasted to the corridor walls of the departmental building. Quickly reprinted in the Shanghai daily newspaper *Wen Hui Bao*, the story soon became a topic of serious discussion throughout China, and a number of similar stories followed (many of them now anthologized in English translation).

More knowledge of Fudan's history and traditions would have prepared me better for the first class meeting of my year-long course in the History of Western Philosophy. Informed that approximately 25 fourth-year students were enrolled, I entered a classroom that sat twice that number and found every seat taken, with occasional double-ups, the window sills similarly occupied and a number of people clustered together standing in the back of the room. On the lectern sat a tape recorder microphone that was to attach to my jacket.

Many of the students looked old for undergraduates, several of them in their 50s and 60s. Astonished by this turnout, I remarked on it to my Chinese colleagues and departmental chairwoman after class, none of whom were astonished at all. Many people know the importance of studying Western philosophy, and are interested in the subject, and further—hard to believe, even harder to document—this was the first such course in Western philosophy to be taught by a Western philosopher in China (not Fudan) since 1949 (not 1966). All of this was conveyed to me in the most matter-of-fact fashion.

The matter-of-fact nature of this answer was not, however, as apparent to me when I first heard it 16 weeks ago as it now appears. Attempting to attach greater or lesser significance to the numbers and machine in my class, I asked whether I could expect such numbers every week, and also asked why the lectures were being taped. Preceded by profuse apologies I received the reply, "If you are uncom-

fortable lecturing to such large numbers, we will restrict the number of auditors to any number you designate. If you do not feel comfortable lecturing with a tape recorder we will remove it. But in both cases, many people want to hear your lectures, many more who want to hear them have a schedule conflict, and many more yet, whose English is not good, want to have a tape to listen to that can be stopped at times so that an interpreter can translate for them." (There are no interpreters for the lectures of any foreign faculty at Fudan. All students must listen to the native tongue of the lecturer.)

Having now given four months' worth of lectures and having attended a few of the playback sessions, I can attest to the accuracy of the reply. Whether the tapes are also played by some security agency and names of attendees are taken I do not know, and I don't really care because no one else seems to care. The same 40 auditors continue to join the enrolled students week in and week out, the tapes continue to be played over each week to fairly large and stable audiences, and I have already been asked to teach another two-semester philosophy sequence next year.

None of this is remarkable, of course, unless Americans have difficulty believing what the Chinese have been saying about opening their educational doors much wider—a difficulty that tells Americans more about themselves and the U.S. media than it does about the Chinese who are attempting to come to grips with Socrates, Plato and Aristotle.

The Fudan faculty is a study in contrasts. About a fifth of the faculty members (300) are vice-professors or professors, erudite and often Western-trained, paid well by Chinese standards, responsible for relatively little day-to-day undergraduate instruction and are expected to conduct research. Many of them suffered during the Cultural Revolution, but they wish to pursue research once again, applied if not pure.

The remaining four-fifths of the faculty must be divided again, for they surely cannot be lumped together as "junior faculty"; promotions have been frozen for almost two decades, and consequently many lecturers have held that post for a quarter of a century, and are in their late 40s or early 50s. Educated after Liberation but before or during the early stages of the Cultural Revolution, their focus has been on teaching rather than scholarly efforts. Although they are responsible for the bulk of undergraduate instruction, they are not very well paid considering their seniority. Opportunities for study abroad are now being sought

for them.

The genuinely junior faculty offer yet another contrast. These are the people who have been teaching for three to eight years, audit my own and the other foreign experts' courses and seminars in large numbers, and either have, or are looking forward to, pursuing graduate studies in the U.S., England or the Continent.

Our own family's interpreter is typical. During most of the Cultural Revolution, university places were available only to those who had worked in the countryside for at least two years. The course of instruction was three years, with not much instruction taking place, and "completers"—they were not called "graduates"—went off to different destinations when their three years were over. But while all of this was going on, Fudan—in concert with many other Shanghai colleges—made up a five-year program of study beginning in 1972. In this program deserving middle-school graduates enrolled at Fudan (and the other institutions), but lived and worked on Chengming Island, 18 miles north of the city at the mouth of the Changjiang, spending a part of each day reclaiming land for cultivation, and the remainder studying the foreign language they wished to learn and teach. Two of Fudan's faculty—working and teaching for six-month stretches—were with them at all times, and they spent four of their five years of work and schooling on the island, the other on the campus.

Our interpreter was a part of that program (which ran until 1979) and, along with five of the remaining 34 thus enrolled from Fudan in 1972, was asked to join the faculty of English when he completed his studies in 1977.

The time I have spent with faculty colleagues at Fudan has led me to believe that the years 1966-1976 were bad ones for scholarship and sophisticated instruction, and that the academic situation at present, while weaker than it should be, is not critical. My senior colleagues have not forgotten what they have learned of the West, and perhaps even more important, they have not forgotten when they have learned of their own cultural tradition either. And the spark of learning still burns in their eyes.

Among the younger faculty, this spark burns more brightly. It is coupled with a wholesome humility of what they do not know of the West, and what they do not know, but want to learn, about China as well.

Henry Rosemont Jr. teaches philosophy at Fudan University in Shanghai.

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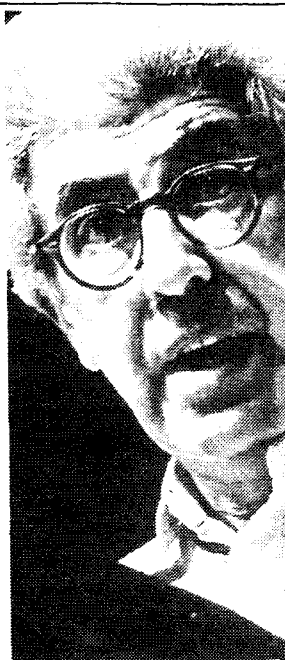
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STB1

PERSPECTIVES

Church and choice

By Jeanne Herb

IN MARCH 1983, SISTER AGNES Mansour, a Catholic nun in Detroit, defied her archbishop's order to resign as state director of social services because she would not denounce the state-financed abortions administered by her department. Mansour's order, the Sisters of Mercy, protested the Church mandate that forced Mansour to leave her order if she wanted to retain her position.

- A 1980 Gallup poll and a 1981 *Life* magazine poll showed 77 percent and 61 percent, respectively, of Catholic women support legislation allowing a woman the right to choose to have an abortion.

- In May 1982, the 1,800-member National Association of American Nuns issued a statement opposing American Bishops' support for a reversal of the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. The nuns' statement went even further, stating support for allowing a woman to have the right to choose an abortion.

- A survey in the spring of 1981 by an independent group called Catholics for Free Choice found that of 1,664 women surveyed prior to having abortions at clinics, 54 percent were Catholic.

In recent years American Catholics have increasingly expressed their opposition to the Church hierarchy's staunch

anti-abortion stance. But in the wake of the 10th anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision, pro-choice Catholics are banding together to pose organized support for pro-choice legislation and organized opposition to the Church's sweeping condemnation of abortion rights.

"We would like to see the Church, and the American Bishops especially, hold an open dialog on abortion as they are having on the nuclear weapons issue," said Eileen Kelley, legislative director for Catholics for Free Choice. She said that neither laypeople nor her organization have any means of debating the abortion issue with Church decision-makers.

In November 1981, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops endorsed specific anti-abortion legislation for the first time. They stated support for the Hatch constitutional amendment to reverse the Supreme Court decision by allowing Congress or individual states to ban abortion through legislation. The Church's position is based on the premise that life begins at conception and, hence, in the words of Pope John Paul II, abortion is the "killing of an innocent creature."

But the Church's position on abortion is a Catholic "teaching," not Church "doctrine." Church doctrine are absolute beliefs; Church teachings are more mutable, evolving in response to changing circumstance—the Church's abortion position has evolved through history.

Up to the year 1500, there was no single position in the Catholic Church on when an embryo becomes a human being because there was no single voice in the Church, no central papacy. Theologians differed on the issue and some, such as St. Augustine, argued that the fetus does not become human until later stages of development. St. Augustine's view became the tenet of Catholic teachings during the Middle Ages. It was endorsed by St. Thomas Aquinas, who added that prior to full development as a human being, the fetus is potentially a human body.

The current Catholic position is based on its 1974 "Declaration on Abortion" issued by an official Church committee. Catholics for Free Choice contends that on abortion the Church has trespassed on the separation of Church and state to a point where it dictates acceptable behavior although it has not determined a consistent doctrine on the issue.

"Catholics are required by Church teachings to be guided by their own consciences," said Kelly. The Church's position on abortion, Kelly's group argues, represents an effort to make decisions for all Catholics, instead of allowing individual church members to make their own decisions.



Universal Press Syndicate

By Rep. John Conyers Jr. and Frank Collins

IF THE SOVIETS LAUNCHED A first-strike intercontinental ballistic missile against American land-based missile launching sites, it would probably reach only empty silos. The targeted missiles almost certainly would be launched in retaliation as soon as the Soviet attack was verified.

Recent developments in satellite telemetry and computer analysis have made advance warning of missile attacks highly accurate. Thus it is improbable that the U.S. command, after receiving a well-authenticated warning of a Soviet first strike, would sit on its hands waiting for the destruction of its land-based ICBMs. An analogous sequence of events could be expected in a Soviet response to an American strike on its land-based ICBMs.

Neither country can be expected to wait for an attack on its missile systems instead of responding with a blow to its enemy's remaining unlaunched missiles, on to its military command centers and, very likely, to its industrial complexes and general population.

Although neither government has admitted to a launch-on-warning stance, they haven't denied it either, and no protocol exists to inhibit it. The launch-on-warning stance is not the result of a possible choice between policy options. It is the inevitable consequence of targeting land-based missile sites with nuclear delivery systems of ever-increasing accuracy and destructive effectiveness such as the MX.

According to the Congressional Research Service's report, *MX Intercontinental Ballistic Missile Problem* (March 7, 1983), the average target error of the existing Minuteman III is 0.12 miles, compared to 0.14 miles for the Soviet SS-18. The lethality, or kill-effectiveness index, of the Minuteman III is 33.5, compared to 32.1 for the SS-18. Thus, these two first-strike weapons are comparable. The MX would represent a quantum

PERSPECTIVES

Launch first, ask questions later

jump in capability above both weapons systems—its average target error would be between 0.05-0.10 miles and its calculated lethality per warhead would be 192.9.

If launched, both the Minuteman III and the SS-18 have a kill-effectiveness that makes a launch-on-warning by the other side probable. It is therefore puzzling that two successive American administrations have fought aggressively to develop the super-accurate MX, which would make a launch-on-warning response by the Soviets inevitable.

Publicly, the Reagan administration talks about "limited, protracted and winnable" nuclear wars, but does not specify how these doomsday horrors could be

Developing the MX would make a Soviet launch-on-warning stance inevitable.

turned to any nation's advantage. But fantasies of "nuclear superiority" seem to explain the targeting of land-based missiles and the enormous buildup of nuclear weapons:

- One side acquires a numerical excess

of ICBMs. Upon a first strike by the side with numerical superiority, its adversary obligingly leaves its missiles unlaunched and each and every one of them is destroyed on the ground. The aggressor suffers no significant damage and is left with a stockpile of its remaining unlaunched missiles to enforce the ensuing peace.

- A limited, protracted and winnable nuclear war is initiated by the side with a numerical excess of ICBMs by launching a limited number of ICBMs against its adversary. Again, the adversary launches no ICBMs on warning of the approaching missiles. The adversary either sues for peace or continues the fantasy by launching a limited ICBM strike of its own. If this second strike is launched, the two sides then alternate with missile launchings until one side or the other runs out of ICBMs.

With either of the above scenarios, the strikes are confined to ICBM launching sites and military installations with minimal destruction of industry and the general population. The fantasy is that a nuclear war is winnable by the side having "nuclear superiority" under either option.

Reality, of course, is different. In addition to disregarding the consequences of the launch-on-warning contingency, the fantasies also overlook the existence of sea- and air-based nuclear weapons systems and the short- and medium-range missiles held by both superpowers.

Under no foreseeable circumstances

Although Catholics for Free Choice has approached American Bishops and the Pope to initiate a debate on abortion, the group's focus is on discussing abortion with Catholics in local groups. Founded in 1974 by Catholic women in New York, Catholics for Free Choice has grown to an estimated 5,000 members. It has a volunteer wing that sponsors education programs in 16 states as well as a legislative program to lobby on federal reproductive-rights legislation.

While the Catholic Church has not publicly reprimanded individual Catholic women who do support or have abortions, it has the authority to excommunicate a member for disobeying its teachings. But public dissent within the Church, such as the Nun's Association's pro-choice statement and Sister Agnes Mansour's refusal to resign as Michigan's Director of Social Services, will likely encourage organized opposition among individual pro-choice Church members.

If and when an official Catholic dialog on abortion will evolve is unsure, but one thing is certain: the lack of debate between Catholic Church members and its hierarchy is causing pro-choice Church members to organize for themselves. ■

would it be possible to destroy all—or even nearly all—of the nuclear weapons of an adversary by an all-embracing first strike, even if the launch-on-warning option were not exercised. In the context of the launch-on-warning contingency, the idea of a winnable nuclear war is absurd.

Should it ever be possible to pinpoint and destroy every enemy submarine in the ocean, the effect would be only to extend the launch-on-warning contingency to sea-based missiles. The flawless detection of submarines would transform, but still not resolve, the military problem of how to wipe out an adversary's total weaponry without unthinkable destruction of the homeland.

The perils of the launch-on-warning contingency are terrible to contemplate in terms of a mistaken launching that could lead to millions of deaths. The delivery time of an ICBM is approximately 30 minutes, but that of an offshore submarine-launched missile could be much shorter. The delivery time of an intermediate range missile, such as the Pershing II, is between five and seven minutes. While the technology of missile detection systems is steadily becoming more advanced and reliable, peoples' reactions are error-prone, particularly those where hasty decisions must be made under pressure.

The central problem is how to devise an interim program of arms reduction that is designed to eliminate the danger of unintentional nuclear war triggered by a human mistake and still reduce to a tolerable level each nation's fear of a calculated first strike. One possible interim agreement could materially reduce the possibility of a catastrophic human error by abolishing all short- and intermediate-range missiles as well as sea-based missiles, which have very short delivery times. Land-based missiles, with longer delivery times, could remain in place to allay fears of a first strike. ■

John Conyers Jr. is a member of Congress from Michigan District 1. Frank Collins, former professor of physical chemistry at the Polytechnic Institute of New York, is assistant to Conyers.

PERSPECTIVES

Poland: Church shoves Solidarity into the past

By David Ost

WHEN MARTIAL LAW was imposed in December 1981, no one in Poland thought it would end like this. "Either the government will be forced to back down in two weeks, or they'll have to keep martial law for 10-20 years," the politically active wife of an internee told me at the time. "Because if they just end martial law 'like that,' how will they ever control our incredibly well-organized independent society?"

But as it turned out, this was precisely the problem. The society that indeed was so well organized—not just in Solidarity but in countless other organizations, with new social and political initiatives arising daily in all parts of the country—could not defend itself against the onslaught of the authorities. Unlike Suharto in Indonesia or Pinochet in Chile, Jaruzelski never sought to defeat the Polish revolution with a sea of blood. The strategy instead was to utilize military authority to break up all independent associations outside of the Church. They have been able to do this without a reign of physical terror—and thus to terminate martial law not with a bang but a whimper—because of the enormous degree of control the state has over all institutions of daily life, as well as to the unwillingness of Poles to turn to violence to continue the struggle.

Purge of intellectuals.

In the past three weeks the government has pressed forward vigorously with its campaign to purge public life of all heterodox tendencies. The workers' movement was dealt with severely in the first months of martial law; now the purge has turned to the intellectual circles. An early signal was the unceremonious dismissal of internationally renowned filmmaker Andrzej Wajda from his positions as president of the filmmakers' union and head of his own film production unit. The artists' union was officially dissolved recently, and the same threat hangs over the head of the writers' union, whose leaders have been the subject of venomous attacks in the Party press.

Martial law has been lifted, yet most of the repressive measures have been written into the lawbooks. Rights to independently organize and to pass around uncensored material—the two rights that made Solidarity possible—have been hit hardest. Both are now punishable by three years in jail.

Yet for all this, the new "concordat" with the Church, consecrated during the recent visit of the Holy Father from Rome, seems to be doing quite well. The significance of the Pope's visit only became clear during its final days. In Czeszochowa the Pope proclaimed, "This is my nation, my fatherland, O Mother of God; and everything that is mine—is Yours." His entire visit seemed an attempt to fulfill the promise of those words: to bind the Polish people ever more closely to the Church. He sought to turn the people's allegiance away from any secular contenders so as to allow the Polish Church maximum freedom to pursue its accord with the state.

The natural contender, of course, has

for the past three years been Solidarity, first as a powerful organization, and then as a powerful hope, but with enough leaders still around to embody that hope and prevent it from degenerating into pure myth. Jaruzelski could not disperse the hopes for a revived Solidarity, but the Pope seemed to make that one of his chief tasks while in Poland. In an unambiguous manner, John Paul informed Lech Walesa that, although he may be dear to the Pope's heart, his political career was over and the Church would do nothing to resurrect it. Walesa's sudden reticence in talking with the press and unwillingness to speculate on his own political future (he had never been reticent or unwilling before) showed that he fully understood the Pope's message.

Pope John Paul's pilgrimage to Poland was an attempt not to woo the government back to Solidarity, but to woo Solidarity to the Church. The Pope did in-

The Pope sought to woo Solidarity back to the Church.

deed use the word "solidarity" many times in his homilies. He spoke of the need for "social solidarity," of "interpersonal solidarity," and declared that the people of Poland enjoyed "my solidarity, as well as the Church's." Whereas the American press referred to every such utterance as a call to arms that made Jaruzelski tremble, the real meaning was exactly the opposite. That such phrases alluded to the now-forbidden union movement is precisely the point: the Pope was telling the Poles that they can have solidarity without Solidarity—that solidarity can be achieved as well through the Catholic Church as through the independent union they once had. Every time he referred to Solidarity with a capital 'S,' he located it safely in the past.

Far from being an uncritical song of praise for a movement that temporarily made Poland a hotbed of radical democracy, the Pope's visit was an attempt to expropriate Solidarity's promise and energy, and attach them to the Church. The irony is that this attempt was greeted with joy by the Poles themselves, who are still unwilling to believe that the Church is interested above all in itself and that it was always suspicious of the independence of Solidarity.

During their meeting, the Pope advised Walesa that if he has any problems, Cardinal Glemp will always be willing to listen. He sought to subordinate Walesa to the Church in the same way that he admonished Father Ernesto Cardenal of Nicaragua to get "back into line" with

the official Church. And yet the visit also made clear that this Pope is not against political involvement *per se*, only against involvement by a Church whose politics he is uncertain of or in disagreement with. But John Paul knows and trusts the Polish Church better than any Church in the world. And so he gave his blessing for it to play an increasingly political role in Polish affairs.

Church-state cooperation.

In particular, the Pope, during his meetings with Jaruzelski, finalized an agreement on an unprecedented Church-state

The Pope tried to expropriate Solidarity's promise for the Church.

project for the creation of a new hard-currency fund for the beleaguered Polish economy. The Vatican has agreed to back up new foreign bank credits and to raise money through Western Catholic institutions as part of a grandiose farm development program. Unlike all other such programs, however, this one will be administered by Church-sponsored officials and will thus be accountable primarily to the Church. The proposed new fund will be earmarked for private agriculture, and will be used to import much-needed farm machinery, fertilizers and feeds.

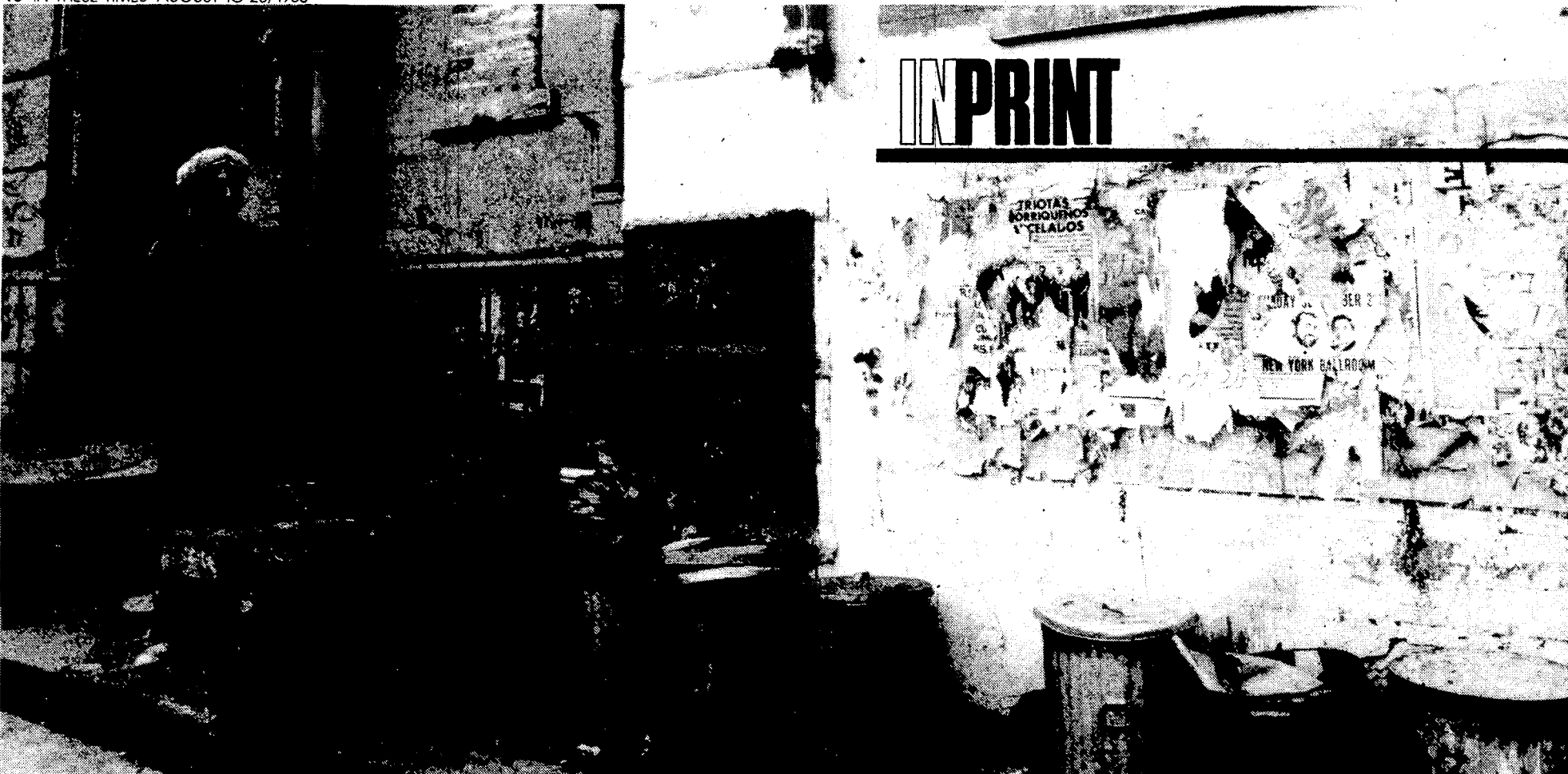
Although negotiations have been shrouded in secrecy, I have learned that the proposal was first made in a letter from Cardinal Glemp to General Jaruzelski last September. The date is very significant, since it was soon afterwards, presumably following a favorable sign from the government, that the Church began criticizing the Solidarity underground and embarking on a rapprochement with the regime, which for its part used the time to delegalize Solidarity.

The significance and potential ramifications of this development are enormous. It marks the first time a state socialist country will allow a sector of the economy to be even partially planned by an independent agency. Solidarity had demanded that this independent agency be workers' self-management councils. The government, however, trusts the elite hierarchy of the Church more than the impolite democracy of the workers. The Church, for its part, can also work more comfortably with a non-democratic partner. Yet this is an historic move for the Church, too. The new fund will involve the Church more than ever before in the administration of the economy and thus force it to bear some of the responsibilities. The Church, however, derives so much of its authority in Poland precisely because it is not responsible for the sorry state of the economy. If it now chooses to share some of the burden, it might soon have to brook some of the blame.

Nevertheless, because it does wrest a portion of the economy from the Party/state monopoly, this development is likely to be widely supported by Polish workers. The Church is already reaping benefits. The day after the Pope visited Wroclaw, for example, the local diocese began publishing a new weekly with a circulation of 20,000.

With the formal lifting of martial law, one of the fruits of the Pope's visit, the official label of the Polish political system changes from "martial law" back to "socialist stability." It seems that the "winners" of the Pope's pilgrimage are indeed the Church and the state, just as each had anticipated beforehand. It may still take time before those who had placed their hopes in Solidarity realize that they have been completely left out. ■





Photographer unknown

INPRINT

How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America: Problems in Race, Political Economy and Society
By Manning Marable
South End Press, 343 pp., \$7.50

By Joseph P. Reidy

Inasmuch as it is necessary to know the past to shape the future, Manning Marable's book makes an important contribution to left politics in the U.S. Inspired by the work of the late Guyanese thinker Walter Rodney, whose *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Africa* (1972) offered a compelling synthesis of African history in light of capitalist development, Marable undertakes "a revolutionary critique of the integral social classes" composing black America.

Marable makes two key contributions. In the first, he provides a systematic, historically rooted class analysis of black society. In the second—which enriches the first although it does not necessarily follow from it—he links the history of blacks since slavery with the larger history of capitalism and U.S. movements for socialism. He not only clarifies aspects of the Afro-American experience that have perplexed other commentators, but also identifies it with the ex-

BLACK HISTORY

An underdeveloped nation inside the U.S.

perience of other victims of capitalist development in the U.S. and the rest of the world.

Blacks and unions.

Marable examines black society in terms of two main divisions: the "core" consisting of a relatively small elite of entrepreneurs, politicians, ministers and educators; and the "periphery" consisting of the majority of black workers and subproletarians. He concentrates his analysis on the "periphery," noting both the crucial link between the black working class and contemporary monopoly capitalism and the critical role of the black working class in challenging racism and oppression. In his analysis of the organized labor movement, Marable argues that blacks should not forsake trade unionism. He does not apologize for the racism of many white workers, but he does view organized labor as an important means through which workers can gain control over their lives—both in the workplace and in the larger society.

Marable's chapters on the unemployed squarely relate poverty (among whites as well as blacks) to the larger process of capital accumulation. In examining the strategies for survival of the black subproletariat, Marable does not romanticize; rather, he frankly treats the debilitating effects of enforced poverty upon members of the underclass and upon the whole society.

Marable's reflections, "Groundings with My Sisters" (inspired by another of Walter Rodney's works, *Groundings with My Brothers*), consider the special exploitation of black women in capitalist America. Marable's use of the notion of patriarchy (which some see as a timeless element in all societies) represents a curious departure from his otherwise systematic reliance upon class analysis.

Nonetheless, his discussion is important. All human relation-

ships, especially those between men and women, become increasingly strained as capitalist society deteriorates. And the oft-described effects of federal programs merely form one part of the larger pattern where workers are stripped of collective defenses against exploitation—ranging from personal bonds to social and political organizations—so that capitalists face only individuals, cut off from all larger social ties. In light of recent inflammatory discussions of the relationship between black men and black women, Marable's discussion constitutes a voice of reason in a whirlwind of vituperation.

Black bourgeoisie.

Unlike the black proletariat, the black bourgeoisie stands in a different relationship to the development of capitalism. The black bourgeoisie took shape out of the stratum of skilled slaves, and during the 20th century it has owed its prosperity to segregation. However, during the early freedom struggle following emancipation, members of this class played a key leadership role. And during the era of segregation, they helped keep the struggle for equality alive.

Marable views Martin Luther King Jr. as the epitome of the revolutionary tradition of the black bourgeoisie in his superb analysis of the civil rights movement and the black elite. He takes note of King's critique of American imperialism and the inherent inequities in the American economic system, attributing King's leftward movement to a genius for responding to the mood of the black masses, and noting that this development made him a prime target for assassination. In reflecting upon the essential bankruptcy of the black elite's leadership role since King's murder, Marable ironically notes the paths followed by Andrew Young, prime booster of Atlanta as the Mecca of the New South, and Jesse Jackson, invad-

er of corporate boardrooms in quest of soft drink distributorships and fried chicken franchises. Rather than serving as agents of meaningful change—even in the direction of guaran-

Such analysis demands serious attention—and not just by leftists. Recent trends in the academic analysis of Afro-American life demonstrate the point. As a result of the "Marxist invasion" of the academy, scholars from a variety of ideological perspectives have taken up the trappings of Marxism, often without bothering, for one reason or another, with its substance. They have grown especially fond of the notion of class, which, as Marx himself observed, bourgeois scholars had employed long before he did.

Sociologist William Julius Wilson's book, *The Declining*

He notes the failures of the black elite's leaders after King.

teeing full citizenship rights to all blacks—such "leaders" have become a comprador bourgeoisie, pursuing its own narrow political and economic ends.

Some may shy away from Marable's politics. Marable pointedly attacks capitalism as the source of black underdevelopment and exposes the pervasive effect of bourgeois ideology throughout American society. He states bluntly, for instance, that anti-Communism was a critical weakness of the civil rights movement.

Significance of Race (1978, revised 1980), for instance, which commendably undertakes a class analysis of black society, still ends up seeming like a political manifesto of the black petty bourgeoisie. Without the perspective on the relationship of class differentiation in black society to the larger development of capitalism—the heart of Marable's analysis—the room for superficial and spurious investigation is wide. The point is that Marable's political perspective is

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NOTEBOOK

Blue Pastoral

By Gilbert Sorrentino

North Point Press, 315 pp., \$18.00

Always a dazzling fiction improviser and irrepressible performer, this time Gilbert Sorrentino has fit together a wild quilt of literary textures to produce a massive parody of the pastoral and picaresque literary traditions.

Sorrentino's plot is a simple one, as should be the case in any picaresque work. Serge "Blue" Gavotte, a lens-grinder from New York, is persuaded by a devious Italian immigrant dentist (who haunts the entire book) to pack his wife and son, along with a piano, into a pushcart and "travel the length and width and height of this great land...until you come to that secret place wherein you will find

the Perfect Musical Phrase."

The text of Blue's journey across the U.S. and his inevitable encounters with rustic characters, a mad array of accented voices, rural manners (here that means sex, in all its variety) and sheep—after all, this is a pastoral work—turns into Sorrentino's pretext for his own satirical adventure of American language, from the campus to the bayou, from the East River to the Rio Grande.

As the circus master and vaudeville emcee of this American carnival, Sorrentino brings a new act onstage for five pages or so and then hauls it off. But sometimes even that short exposure is too long, since for all his raucous energy, comic variety and stunning technical breadth, Sorrentino has trouble sustaining the humor of this tale on

not coincidental to his solid analysis—the latter proceeds directly from the former.

Some may fault Marable for not treating the development of American (and world) capitalism closely enough. He attacks the Reagan administration's assault upon the social programs won during a half-century of struggle to ameliorate the harshest aspects of capitalist development. But perhaps he does not carry the point far enough—in the sense that Reagan's efforts aim to foster capital accumulation for the era of "high technology" by means of a naked transfer of resources from the unemployed and marginally employed of all colors and nationalities to individuals and corporations with great wealth. The point has numerous political implications, not the least of which bears directly on one of Marable's most important themes—namely, his criticism of the devastating effect of anti-Communist ideology on left movements in the U.S. The same people who warmly applaud Reagan's program of "reindustrialization," touting it as the key to jobs and prosperity for all Americans, also shrink in horror at the thought of Stalin's program of industrialization, characterizing it as the natural outcome of totalitarian tyranny. They cannot have it both ways.

Marable's characterization of the elite as the "core" and the majority as the "periphery," which clearly derives from the "world-systems" approach to the study of capitalism, is also open to criticism. For who can deny that black Americans of all social classes live in what Cuban revolutionary Jose Marti long ago described as "the belly of the monster"? In the U.S. it may be that all is core and nothing is periphery. Fortunately, this distinction is more a semantic device than an essential part of Marable's analysis.

Despite these reservations, Marable's key achievement lies precisely in rooting the analysis of black Americans in the larger framework of the historical development of capitalism. His "revolutionary critique" and program of action aim toward the socialist transformation of the U.S. The book goes far toward placing such a transformation at the heart of the black political agenda.

Joseph P. Reidy teaches history at the University of Maryland.

every page, where there are more gags, jokes and twisted literary references than the most enterprising graduate student could hope to count. Sorrentino is trying terribly hard to sound worldly, but too often his creations are disappointingly academic, despite the special venom reserved for the "University."

Still, those who appreciate (and who can tolerate the excesses of) ribald but overscholarly literary invention are likely to enjoy Sorrentino's superb ear for American English and his truly ecumenical irreverence for those who speak any form of it.

—D.D.

The Real Terror Network: Terrorism in Fact and Propaganda

By Edward Herman
South End Press, \$7.50 (paper)
The "real" terror network (as opposed to Claire Sterling's mythical one) is a collection of U.S.-sponsored authoritarian regimes in the Third World. These regimes have adopted a

The Coffin Tree
By Wendy Law-Yone
Alfred A. Knopf
195 pp., \$12.95

By Valerie Miner

The Coffin Tree is a powerful tale that could have been told with more skill and grace but as a first novel it is a dramatic debut.

Wendy Law-Yone writes in the voice of a young Burmese woman who immigrates from a privileged family to penniless desolation in New York City. The narrator's father, founder of the People's Army, sends his daughter and son to the U.S. to protect them from political retribution. By turns both brother and sister descend into madness. Only one of them survives.

Although the raw material is complex and provocative, the book needs focus, structure, polish and a much clearer social context. The flaws are worth exploring because they limit a potentially splendid novel. They also reflect symptoms found in much new American fiction: poor narrative cohesion and indifference to or contempt for political consciousness.

Stolen crackers.

There is much to admire in the story's fascinating contradictions. The revolutionary father sacrifices his life for his people, while ignoring his own family. The pampered girl, who grows up in a household of servants and doting aunts, lands in a flea-bitten hotel subsisting on stolen packets of crackers and hot chocolate. The protective brother gradually becomes entirely dependent on his younger sister for material and psychic support.

The family's emotional deterioration is the most wrenching part of the story. The narrator waits helplessly as her brother Shan disintegrates. "It was at night that he paced the floor and kept me awake with the incessant, smacking sound of his fist pounding his thigh as if in answer to some terrible ache in his bones." Gradually her brother's madness—reflecting her previous desertion by her mother's death and her father's political duties—casts a malignant shadow on her own sanity.

The affection between brother and sister is well drawn. He appreciates her intelligence and strength; she values his sweet-

ness. The intensity of their relationship is reminiscent of the siblings in Alice Hoffman's *White Horses* and the cousins in Marge Piercy's *Braided Lives*. In all three books, it is the character more conscious of pain who survives self-destruction, perhaps because she is also more vulnerable to hope and change.

Although *The Coffin Tree* is tortuously dramatic, the book lacks intelligible narration and developed characters. For a story generated by political violence, this one shows a curious allergy to social issues. Why wasn't there more editorial direction for this talented new writer? Ultimately, *The Coffin Tree* reads like a very literary set of journal notes—not a bad book, but not a novel

FICTION

Daughter of the revolution

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scriptions from therapy sessions; but, unlike Sheila Ballantyne's fine psychoanalytic novel, *Imaginary Crimes*, a coherent pattern never emerges here. Often the story seems like an attempt to settle a private score or to achieve a very personal catharsis, thus leaving readers as partially informed voyeurs.

Context of no context.

The most stunning flaw is the vagueness about historical context. Obviously a character whose revolutionary father has abandoned her will resist ideological discussion. "I shrank from the endless family discussions about the damages done by the coup: nationalization, surveillance; censorship, curfews, confiscations; rations; midnight



Wendy Law-Yone tells the story of a Burmese immigrant.

either. Perhaps Law-Yone needs more distance from the first-person narrator. The protagonist is better at expressing than at communicating, so readers frequently get lost. Important incidents are left unsettled. Transitions are rough. The pace is uneven. Characters are dropped abruptly. Much of the book could be trans-

The novel thrives on fascinating contradictions.

The Political Economy of Human Rights.

—G.S.

The Battle of Beirut: Why Israel Invaded Lebanon

By Michael Jansen
South End Press, \$6.50 (paper)

Michael Jansen describes her book as "a study and an indictment." Here are the main items of her indictment: the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was planned far in advance, for political ends that had little to do with its officially announced "defensive" purpose; it caused death and destruction in southern Lebanon grotesquely out of proportion to any defensible military goals; it involved weapons and tactics that violated the commonly understood morality (and sometimes the explicit laws) of war; and it culminated in a cruel siege and partial responsibility for a hideous massacre.

To these familiar charges Jansen adds several more that did not receive equal attention in the American media: the Israelis vastly exaggerated the

quantity of PLO arms captured in southern Lebanon (one of the chief pretexts for the invasion), obstructed aid from international relief agencies and gratuitously blockaded and bombed Beirut for seven weeks after the PLO had agreed in principle to evacuate its guerrillas.

Well documented from the European, American and Israeli press, *The Battle of Beirut* offers a vivid account of the invasion's brutality and a plausible argument for its futility.

—G.S.

Struggle and Survival in Colonial America

Edited by David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash
University of California Press, 398 pp., \$28.50

Getting a feel for the conditions of life anywhere in the Americas in the colonial era is tricky, especially for history teachers whose students' heads are full of prissy Williamstown imagery. But it is especially hard for colonial Latin Amer-

ica, where diaries and personal letters were almost unknown, and where preservation of documents has been abysmal. This collection of articles sketches 23 "ordinary" lives drawn from a social history grab bag of documents such as court records, church records and royal petitions. The articles are by and large well written, soundly researched and annotated. A general reader, as well as the undergraduate and the scholar, will find these personal accounts interesting. The editors' introduction protests too much the reality of the common person's "struggle and survival" (new code for "resistance and accommodation"). Yet the introduction also usefully argues that information on daily life isn't simply spice and color but crucial to one's understanding of the social tensions that create history.

But because the author does nothing to compensate for the narrator's traumatized muteness about the political situation, readers remain ignorant of the actual turmoil in Burma. Thus, by omission, the broader political struggles are trivialized in comparison to the family troubles. The revolution is exploited as a cartoon backdrop against which to set a story of parental breakdown. Later, the narrator shows a similar disregard for racism and sexism in this country. Where is the author to color in the background, to reveal the narrator's suffering and survival as part of a larger social setting?

Like so many *Bildungsromans* (novels of a young character's education in the world), this book celebrates the isolation and individualism of the hero. The only other person of any dimension is the brother Shan. The rest of the characters are swift brush strokes created to give impressions, to support the narrator's emotional testimony, without lives of their own.

A helpful contrast, perhaps, is *Obasan* (David R. Godine, \$12.95), also a recent first novel about a fragile first-person narrator exiled from home. Joy Kogawa's story about a Japanese-Canadian interned during World War II is rife with private tragedy caused by political events. Unlike Law-Yone, Kogawa is clearly conscious that she is writing about history as well as about family dynamics. By acknowledging connections between the intimate and the public, she heightens the understanding of both spheres and creates a rich, subtle novel.

The ending of *The Coffin Tree* is abrupt, yet hopeful. Within a half-page the narrator moves from the grips of a frantic dream to a climactic resolution: "Many more years were to pass before I could sit at my table for an hour or two each night and labor over these pages. But when I was ready, it was this truth that offered itself as a beginning: *Living things prefer to go on living.*" In this spirit, I appreciate and criticize *The Coffin Tree*. And I look forward to Wendy Law-Yone's next book because vital writers go on writing.

Valerie Miner's novels include *Movement*, *Blood Sisters* and *Murder in the English Department*. She teaches at the University of California, Berkeley.

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, David D'Arcy, George Scialabba.

By Pat Aufderheide

Fanny and Alexander—what a fitting goodbye present from Ingmar Bergman, who says this is his last movie. The neuroses of the middle class that he has elevated over the years into agonies of the modern soul are made here into a lush fairytale.

Fanny and Alexander is a movie full of marvels, spectacle and wonder. It's a directing tour-de-force, for its banquet scenes alone. And, technically wondrous as it is, it also settles a question. No, art does not have to have a therapeutic function. Look at Bergman. All those movies, all that angst, all that theatrical thrashing, and he still hasn't worked out his fundamental confusion about ordinary living. But he has enshrined it.

The story is set in a composite Bergmanland—a turn-of-the-century overstuffed Swedish middle-class home, in a sedate and well-appointed town with a church and a theater. Everyone here is comfortable, even the token Jew who defines the limits of Lutheran culture. In this tidy setting a pubescent boy Alexander (Bertil Guve), accompanied by kid sister Fanny (Pernilla Allwin) learns about life, death, love, hate and the magical power of art.

The way he does so makes the Brothers Grimm look like *Father Knows Best*. He starts out in the bosom—and I do mean bosom—of the Ekdahl family, an ebullient matriarchy dominated by stern Mrs. Ekdahl (Gunn Wallgren). Her three sons are all defined by the women they married. There is Oscar the theater manager, whose actress wife Emilie (Ewa Froling) recalls the earthy, unlimited femininity of



ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

Long goodbye from Bergman



Liv Ullman; Gustav the philanthropist, whose affairs are efficiently taken in stride by wife Alma; and Carl the failure, a drunkard and debtor whose pitiful foreign wife uses her passivity like a weapon.

Holiday frolics.

We are introduced to the family Christmas Eve, when all passions bloom. In the round robin of randiness that makes up the long night, the men may get what they want but the women are the ones who know what they need. Because the camera catches sexual play from both the women's and the men's side of the engagements, there's a comic touch to the panting and cuddling. Sex is not a moment of mutual ecstasy but a set of "working misunderstandings," as the anthropologists say.

Alexander's personal drama

of discovery later takes on a tragic dimension when, while on stage playing the ghost in a rehearsal of *Hamlet*, his father has a seizure and dies the next day after terrifying the boy with the sight of painful death.

Then, with his mother's inexplicable decision to marry the cold and cruel local bishop (Jan Malmstjorn), Alexander and sidekick Fanny are plunged into a hell that, Bergman seems to say, represents organized religion—all order, no spirituality. They take up residence in the bishop's dank castle, which Emilie reminds Alexander—disingenuously—is not *Hamlet's* Elsinore. There, a witch-like maid locks them in their nursery, sterile spinsters make them clean their plates and the evil stepfather beats and locks up Alexander.

It takes the unSwedish and un-Lutheran canniness of Uncle Isak

(Erland Josephson) to spring them. Like the good Jew he is, he does it by cheating the bishop in a business deal. In the magically Moorish atmosphere of Isak's pawnshop, Alexander "sees" the much-longed-for death of the bishop. A mad orphan who Isak shelters makes Alexander's wish come true.

Restoration.

And so the Ekdahl universe is restored, and even renewed. Celebrating this is a christening of two new girl babies—Emilie's from the bishop, and the nursery maid Maja's from the perennially oversexed Gustav. Gustav holds his baby high and calls her "my little empress," but he's no queenmaker. The babies, like the moment and the family itself, belong to the women—those buxom, wide-hipped Ekdahl women.

In a recent *New York Times*

interview, Bergman said, "I think I have just one obsession—to touch other human beings... that was the reason why I came into this profession." He went on, however, to say, "It was also a longing for power, for manipulating other people." As *Fanny and Alexander* spells out in speeches, in structure and in a welter of symbols, Bergman sees making contact not as a social art but as a spiritual act, and one that women have a lock on. If they use it to touch people, they also use it to manipulate them. The men try to manipulate back, but they're always in the rear-guard.

The pedestal for women that Bergman's been building for so many years now has achieved roco proportions here. The women hold the key to life itself, not just in their fertility but in their emotional openness. Stunted men give speeches about the need for generosity and love at the film's beginning and end, but the women exemplify it throughout. Emilie burgeons with youthful energy, while her husband expires with exhaustion. Alma's canny forgiveness of her husband's compulsive sexual consumption undoes him, even making him impotent. Some men are simply weak; others, like the bishop, are cruel with a monstrosity that frightens even them. Even among the young, the contrast is stark. Alexander is a seeker, but Fanny is the seer.

The visual contrast between women and men is just as bold as their characters. The women are photographed in splendid amplitude, their breasts cascading out of underwear or bulging from gowns, their asses on display when they bend over. The men are often spied on when snoring, sprawled sleeping, drunk or fidgeting in painfully proper poses. (Again cinematographer Sven Nykvist performs his own magic, turning crude visual metaphors into luxuriant images.)

Women without men.

There's a dark side to this feminine glory. In the most casual everyday moments the women can dispense with the men. Women control the life force, walking away from the men with their babies. Emilie leaves the bishop with his baby still inside her, but Maja deserts Gustav with her babe in arms, teaming up with his own daughter to leave town. Even when the family stays

Bergman gives us strong women. Emilie (left) and Alma (right) Ekdahl dominate and define their husbands. Below, Bergman and Nykvist confer on a shot.

together the women run it, as the rituals of a Christmas feast, a funeral, a wedding and a christening drive home. Compared with this kind of control, the bishop's women—spindly, sterile fascimiles of male correctness—exercise a poor imitation of power.

Occasionally men share that feminine force, but they pay for it with marginality. The telepathic orphan Ismael (Ishmael, recall, was the "wild man" born to Abraham and Hagar, who was cast into the wilderness on Sarah's orders) is androgenous, and Alexander is blessed or cursed with an artistic sensibility.

Bergman's narcissism blooms in Alexander, a portrait of the artist as a young seeker. He's a Christ-figure for all us alienated moderns. The point is not left in doubt. After the bishop whips Alexander for exercising his imagination (cf. Christ whipped before the crowd), Alexander is

Men have the "little" world of art—a poor substitute for women's roles.

locked in an attic where a Christ on the cross lies discarded in the background. When his mother runs upstairs to find him, she clutches him in a pieta position. For an ambitious artist—who suffers for us all—it helps to have the Virgin Mary for a mother.

Art as refuge.

Alexander's artistic powers are part of Bergman's justification for his own career. The world of theatrical imagination, Alexander's father explains in a speech to the assembled theater troupe early on in the movie, sometimes reflects the "big world" and sometimes shelters one from it. Women play roles in the big world, as Mrs. Ekdahl says wryly—"We all play our parts." But men have the "little world" of art—a poor substitute for the power of women, perhaps, but

SPORTS

Pro tennis loses its courtliness

By David D'Arcy

After the lackluster finals at Wimbledon last month, tennis commentators gushed with praise for John McEnroe after his effortless defeat of the unseeded Chris Lewis of New Zealand in an undeniably dull match where McEnroe's legendary abuse of linesmen, umpires and opponents was noticeably absent. But in spite of the traditional parade of decorum on Centre Court and the silly observations by serious journalists that McEnroe had turned into a "sweet young man" overnight, it was hard for anyone following the tournament not to notice that professional tennis is struggling to maintain its credibility as a competitive sport.

Two recent events have exposed this crisis of credibility: the publication of *Short Circuit*, Michael Mewshaw's entertaining and informative glimpse into the commercial free-for-all of the

nis after the 1984 season.

Why the concern? In the wake of the Vilas suspension, Arthur Ashe, Jimmy Connors, John McEnroe and other leading pros have admitted that appearance payments for the top stars is the rule rather than the exception on the circuit. The widespread payment of guarantees illustrates the precarious course that professional tennis is now steering between sport and show business.

The leading players in tennis today are not just world-class athletes, but carefully managed entertainment properties. Connors, Borg, McEnroe and others have brought a new drama and personality to the game and, thanks to them, the audience for tennis has broadened dramatically over the last decade. It is the participation of these stars, rather than the actual quality of tennis played at an event, that enables a tournament to sell tickets in advance, attract additional advertising and corporate sponsorship and make lucrative deals for

television coverage.

Michael Mewshaw and other journalists have held that tournament umpires favor stars who have been given guarantees in order to ensure that those players finish at the top of an event. The same sportswriters add that appearance money casts some doubt on a player's incentive to win. And another argument against guarantees holds that the total amount of prize money available to lower-ranked players will be reduced by the payment of lavish guarantees to celebrities.

Renegade tennis.

If Vilas' suspension is upheld, he will be banned from play in the U.S. Open and all other events under the jurisdiction of the Pro Council, including the prestigious Davis Cup, for one year. He would still be free, however, to appear in lucrative exhibition matches and to play in tournaments sponsored by World Championship Tennis (WCT), the renegade pro circuit described by the late Red Smith as "the plaything" of its founder, Lamar Hunt, who owns the Kansas City Chiefs football team and numerous other expensive things. WCT events typically feature small pools of well-known players and offer huge amounts of prize money. But the Pro Council views these events as exhibitions rather than competitive tournaments. For this reason, WCT has had some difficulties in maintaining its credibility as a competitive circuit and currently has a sour-grapes anti-trust suit pending against the Pro Council, the Association of Tennis Professionals (the players' bargaining and ranking organization) and the International Tennis Federation for monopolistic practices.

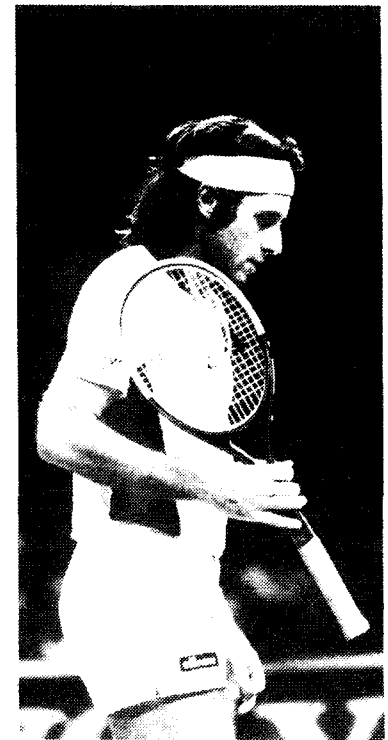
But for all its problems, WCT still is where the money is. Czech star Ivan Lendl proved that by remaining loyal to the WCT schedule last year and accumulating higher official earnings (\$2,028,850) than any other player in the world, compared to Vilas' \$932,150 in legitimate tournament earnings.

In 1981 WCT sought to attract the top players by allowing its 14 finalists to choose, in order of ranking, from among such bonuses as a prospective oil well to be drilled, "investment diamonds selected for long-range enhancement value," ownership and naming rights of a thoroughbred racehorse, a "contemporary Western painting to be selected by the player," "bags of silver coins chosen for investment purposes" (a specialty of the Hunt family) and Irish Sweepstakes lottery tickets. With opportunities like these, can we expect Vilas to be hurt financially by his suspension?

Still, if virtually all the top players are receiving appearance money as a matter of course, why has Vilas been singled out for a \$20,000 fine and a year's suspension? It seems that the Pro Council has an irrefutable block of evidence that the Argentine did accept the cash from the Rotterdam tournament. It has also been suggested that Vilas and his irascible manager Ion Tiriac (also the mentor of the notorious Ilie Nastase's career) were viewed as un-

popular outsiders by the snobbish tennis establishment, making them easy scapegoats.

Those who argue over the fairness of the Vilas suspension do seem to agree that this action is unlikely to bring an end to appearance payments in pro tennis. Quite simply, too much money is at stake. Tennis pros, like most businessmen, will not choose to



Argentine pro Guillemos Vilas was fined and suspended for accepting a cash payment.

reduce their income unless penalties for not reducing it are severe and uniformly enforced. As long as the moneyed WCT remains outside its control, the Pro Council's power to discipline players who break the rules on guarantees will be ineffective.

It seems, then, that the upper-class urbane decorum that once reigned over the courts has passed into extinction along with the blazer and white flannels. We can probably kiss the courtesy of yesterday goodbye, although the old clothes may still return if only sweetened by one essential ingredient: cash. Two years ago Chris Evert Lloyd was said to have been paid over half a million dollars to wear the clothing of Ellesse, the Italian sportswear firm. Ellesse is also said to have paid Vilas \$300,000 at the time, and the sum has no doubt risen since then. Fila, another Italian manufacturer, reportedly pays semi-retired star Bjorn Borg more than a million dollars just to pose for its ads.

The corporations and television networks that discovered tennis and promoted it on a huge scale in the early '70s have changed the game. A combination of dynamic personalities on the court, media coverage of those personalities and massive infusions of cash have given the sport a global audience—although the sport is now sometimes reduced to a showcase for a handful of superstars.

Along with allegations of homosexuality and drug use among its players, reports of widespread illegal payments to superstars are evidence that tennis has come of age as a professional sport. A slap on the wrist of Guillermo Vilas is unlikely to restore the game's virginity. ■

David D'Arcy is a former senior editor of Racquet Quarterly.



Good players are not just athletes, but entertainment properties.

men's pro tour, and, more important, the fining and provisional suspension of the Argentine pro, Guillermo Vilas, for accepting a \$60,000 cash payment for simply showing up at a Grand Prix tournament in Rotterdam last March. To complicate matters even more, on July 27 the Volvo North American corporation announced that it will end its \$25 million sponsorship of the Grand Prix of Professional Ten-

one that offers a modicum of security in a threatening world.

Never, it would seem, has Bergman been more sympathetic to women. He shows them cruelly exploited—the maid raped by her masters, Emilie living under threat of having her children taken away. But it's a kind of sympathy that not only explains but condones the situation, because Bergman locates the root of that exploitation in men's pitiful attempts to gain some kind of equality with those engulfingly spiritual women. It's their eternal, existential force that drives men to harass, rape, enchain them and flee from them into the world of dreams. And if that force is natural to women—not a social condition—then the cruelties of sex roles are also eternal.

Bergman is forever complaining that he hasn't got any weighty philosophical secrets to deliver, and that he just wants to make entertaining movies. *Fanny and Alexander* bears him out. There is a majestic lack of profundity in this movie, along with a superabundance of technical excellence and thrills-and-chills theatricality. Although he has never been subtle, he's always dense. But in this film it's more fun than usual because the movie is not just overblown—*Cries and Whispers* was that—but also playful. Bergman seems to be revelling in theatrical excess in his last filmic fling.

The good girl/bad guy plot is crammed with fairytale stereotypes. The color scheme is like a color-by-number guide to emotional states—with womb-like reds ceding to pinks and then light blues after the father's death, then to black-and-white in the bishop's lair and back to pink and red when the new generation of Ekdahl women are christened.

Fanny and Alexander is a confection made up of familiar ingredients. But for all its vaunted sweetness of tone, the movie has a poignancy to it. Bergman seems eager, with his lavish display, to show what a better and more generous person he has become. He offers to his loyal viewers an elaborate cinematic spread, trying to do what his male characters preach—be generous, loving, open. But anxiety shows here more than his generous impulses, and the effect is more smothering than inspiring.

Maybe the reason he appears so much more gentle here in the face of the dilemmas he has expressed with so much anguish before, is because he has simply given up. Family life (controlled by women) and theater (controlled by artists) are the satisfactions he'll settle for in compensation for enduring the maddening contingency of history. If consolation in the ample breasts of a mother-virgin and maid-whore has a steep price, there is a substitute satisfaction in art, where, as Alexander's father puts it, you can find "a small room of orderliness, routine, conscientiousness and love."

Hmm—a makeshift solution, and one best suited to a middle-class male artist who's looking for a place to rest. Bergman may have given us a dramatic vision of how many middle-class men fear and revere women, but underneath the tinsel and costumery it's a vision without a future. But then the problem, the way he has been asking it, has no solution. For him, the mystery of life—of touching, of connectedness—is something women are born with and that men can at best—especially through their art—marvel at. ■

Vietnam

Continued from page 13

Vietnam without their families or who are reported to be army deserters who were forced into conscription by the Communist government.

These young people, predominantly male, are often poorly educated and have had difficulty mastering English. Because of government cutbacks in refugee assistance programs, they have little opportunity to further their education and are often not able to find work.

According to sources within the Vietnamese community, many are joining the resistance movement. Some have already returned to their homeland and are said to be engaged in guerrilla warfare. The NUFLVN leaders claim to now have 10,000 troops fighting in the jungles in and around Vietnam.

Hoang Co Minh, a former admiral with the Vietnamese Navy, is currently serving as the worldwide chairman of the NUFLVN. He claims his anti-Communist fighters have been racking up victories in their recent battles with the Communist-backed regime.

Minh has been spending much of his time touring the U.S., gathering support from cities with large refugee populations. In contrast to Pham Van Liu's statements to the media that NUFLVN funds are not being used for arms, Minh

said in a recent interview with the *Los Angeles Times* that money is being raised in this country "to buy materials—medicine, weapons."

There is also evidence that fundraising activities by the NUFLVN are becoming increasingly more aggressive. Resistance leaders are holding rallies and urging refugees to give monetary support.

Two fundraising events in Orange County, Calif., recently drew more than 11,000 supporters who paid \$5 or more each to attend. A similar event staged last year in Los Angeles was attended by

4,000 refugees.

Minh claims to have a broad base of support among the refugee community and says that there are now 96 front support committees active here and abroad. Key support areas in the U.S., he says, are located in Orange County, Houston, San Jose and Washington, D.C.

But in the long run it is more than contributions and support committees that the NUFLVN wants from the Vietnamese refugees living in the U.S. The words of the organization's official anthem make that very clear.

Citizens, arise and respond to the call of the ancestorland!

To a man, we shall advance and sacrifice of our lives without regret.

For the sake of our people's future, we brave fire, shells and bullets to defend and consolidate our country.

Even at the cost of lying dead in heaps, we shall shed our blood to revenge our people....

Cheryl Romo's work has appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, *San Francisco Examiner* and *Sacramento Magazine*, where a different version of this story appeared.

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CHICAGO, IL

August 17-21

National Lawyers Guild national convention focusing on economic rights. Bismark Hotel, 171 W. Randolph. For information: 939-2493. Aug. 19: Celebration of the 30th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution with Arturo Sandoval, Cuba's internationally acclaimed jazz trumpeter, in concert. Pavillon Theater, Bismark Hotel, 9 p.m. to 1 a.m. Tickets: \$9.00 advance, \$11.00 door. For tickets and information: 939-2493. Aug. 20: NLG Convention dinner honoring the

lawyers, law students and legal workers who joined the NLG in the struggle for civil rights in the South in the 1960s. Pavillon, Bismark Hotel, 7 p.m. For reservations and information: 939-2493.

September 30-October 2

First Annual Midwest Blue Collar Tradeswomen's Conference. Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Theme: "Women Forging New Frontiers." Designed for women in skilled crafts/blue collar occupations, including construction, mining, manufacturing, mechanical/protective services. Registration: \$25; advanced registration required. For brochures, contact Audrey Denecke, Conference Coordinator, Midwest Women's Center, 53 W. Jackson, #1015, Chicago, IL 60604, (312) 922-8530.

PORTLAND, OR

August 21

The theme for Portland's skid road community's

3rd Annual Hobo Parade is the "Parade for the Homeless and Unemployed." The neighborhood festive event will focus attention on the growing plight of the homeless and unemployed in the Pacific Northwest. Assembly for the parade begins at 11:00 a.m. in the North Park blocks (8th & Everett, N.W.). Parade begins at noon and winds up in Waterfront Park for an afternoon rally complete with food, music and political speeches. Sponsored by the Burnside Community Council. For info: (503) 231-7158.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

August 24-27

Join Michael Harrington, Barbara Ehrenreich, Manning Marable, Dorothy Healey, Hulbert James, Jose Laluz, Victor Reuther and many others for the 8th Annual Summer Conference of the Youth Section of the Democratic Socialists of America. Plenaries and workshops on socialist vision; racial politics in the 1980s; labor, Democratic Party, Central America, economic alternatives, disarmament and more. First Congregational Church, 945 G Street, NW, Washington, DC. For more info call (212) 260-3270.

August 28

Solomon Amendments deprive draft non-registrants of federal education and job-training aid. Committee Against Registration & Draft (CARD) sponsoring information and strategy meeting: "Defeating the Solomon Amendments." Washington, DC August 28, 10-4 p.m., Methodist Building (110 Maryland Ave.). Contact CARD, 201 Mass. Ave. NE #111, (202) 547-4340 or local CARD affiliate.

CHEVY CHASE, MD

August 24-28

Union for Radical Political Economics 1983 Summer Conference: "Restructuring Capitalism in the 1980s." Panels, workshops and papers on: the role of the State, the nature and scope of the current crisis, corporate strategies, trade union responses, the political economy of race relations, women, children and families in the 80's, the international division of labor, initiatives from the U.S. left. URPE business meetings, caucus meetings, sports, films, childcare. Pre-registration required, for details write: URPE, 41 Union Square West #901, New York 10003.

NEW YORK, NY

September 3-5

National Convention Socialist Party U.S.A. Labor Day weekend. Seaman's Church (off Battery Park), Manhattan. Public forum Saturday night with speakers and entertainment. For more information: (212) 643-0711 or (414) 276-0773.

INDIANA, PA

October 26-28

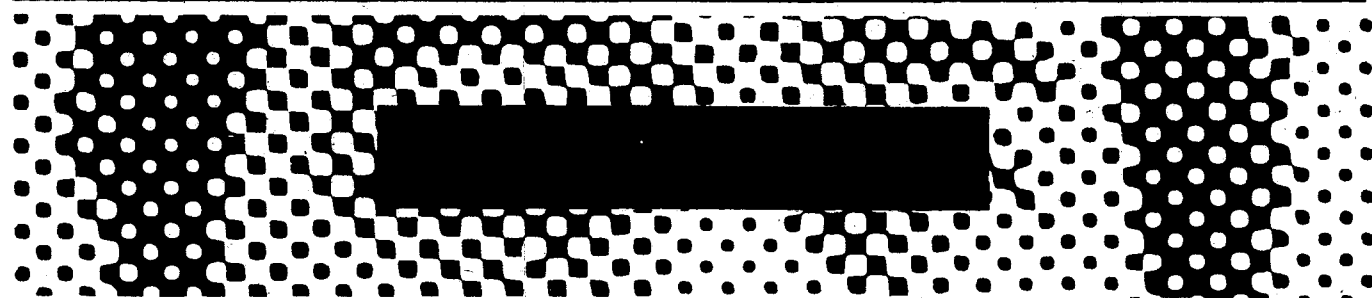
Conference, "Technology and Society: Human Values and Policy Making." Indiana University of Pennsylvania. Exploration of economic, political, social and cultural facets. Participants include William Winpisinger, Harley Shaiken, Stanley Aronowitz, Marion Anderson, Arthur Wasikow, Judy Gregory. Contact Irwin Marcus, History Department, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, PA 15705, (412) 357-2237.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA

September 2-5

Citizens Party will hold its Third National Convention on the "Politics of Peace, Justice and Economic Renewal" at the Bellevue Hotel. Speakers include Sonia Johnson, Manning Marable, Barry Commoner, Ramsey Clark, and representatives from the Green Parties in West Germany and Holland. Discussion on 1984 presidential strategies. For information, contact Wendy Adler, National Director, Citizens Party, 2000 P St., NW, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 659-8878.

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HSS3

Photos

Continued from page 24

the soft textures of steam and clothing and the crystalline reflections of metal and grease.

As striking as these individual photos are, the show should be judged as a whole, as a portrait of a particular time. And a peculiar time it was, a moment of transition between the end of the Depression and the full-blown consumer society of the '50s. Signs of both are seen. Charles Rotkin's aerial photographs are particularly revealing. Horses being watered in Mississippi and a railroad roundhouse, almost obscured by steam engine smoke, are part of a world that was already fading. A cloverleaf interchange and a Pittsburgh subdivision are the world to come.

The Standard Oil photographers concentrated on many of the same subjects as their FSA predecessors: farmers, rivermen and roustabouts; families, main streets and general stores. But the differences are obvious. In the Standard Oil pictures people look well-fed and decently clothed. Babies are plump and new

cars can be seen. The vacant look of undernourishment and hopelessness that characterized the FSA photographs is gone.

In a sense, this exhibit is a graphic display of the impact of the New Deal, industrial unionism and wartime prosperity on American life. A photograph of a soldier home on furlough, used to advertise the show, is a good illustration of this. The soldier and his family are in front of a crude country store, but the woman beside him is smartly dressed and everyone exudes an easy confidence and an air of well-being. One photo almost perfectly illustrates CIO-leader Phil Murray's statement that unionism meant "pictures on the wall, carpets on the floor and music in the home." Two sons of a Standard Oil worker are seen asleep in their room; although they share a bed and the house seems cheaply constructed, there are curtains and pictures and a rug and toy airplanes hanging from the ceiling.

Still, as evocative as they are, these pictures lack a certain punch. Perhaps it is the rural bias; most are of small towns or farm areas, apparently a true sampling of the collection as a whole. There are no pictures, say, of the 1946 strike wave or the swollen post-war urban neighborhoods. This skew in part reflects the location of the oil industry. However, it also

stems from a New Deal tendency to extol small-town life and regional culture. This sensibility—essentially conservative—became increasingly inappropriate after the war, as the U.S. became ever more urbanized. Those, like Stryker, who remained committed to it lost their ability to accurately portray American life.

An even more basic problem was the separation, under Standard Oil auspices, of documentary photography from its historic roots in social reform movements. Although the form remained the same, the effect is sometimes shallow.

It is impossible to say how accurately the Standard Oil collection records the activities of the company. There were photos taken of its foreign workers and its shareholders—the exploited and the exploiters—but they were not included in the show. What we do see seems to fulfill

the company's hope that the project would show it to be "a good citizen... that always works in the public interest." Nevertheless, Standard Oil was disappointed with the results. In spite of an enormous investment, its public relations campaign yielded only a modest gain in public image, and Stryker's project was phased out.

This show, then, is as interesting for its failures as for its successes. On both counts it is well worth seeing. If you can't get to the exhibit, the catalog, published by the University of Texas Press, is a worthwhile substitute. Although the reproductions are nowhere near the quality of the superb, newly made prints on display, the catalog has a first-rate introduction by Stephen W. Plattner and, like the show, includes short biographies of the exhibited photographers. ■

Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



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In the '30s, the WPA and the Farm Security Administration documented American life. In the '40s, Standard Oil took over.

By Josh Freeman

SOME OF THE MOST POWERFUL and familiar images of American life were produced by the photographers of the Farm Security Administration (FSA) during the 1930s. To a large extent, our visual sense of the Great Depression—at least for those of us under 50—comes from these photographs. The images of Dorothea Lange, Walker Evans and their FSA colleagues seem fixed forever in the nation's social memory.

Less well-known are the results of a subsequent, related project. In 1943 Roy Stryker, the head of the FSA historical section, left the federal government to work for the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey (now Exxon). Over the next seven years, 67,000 black and white photographs and 1,000 color transparencies were taken under his supervision. Stryker's crew of photographers toured company facilities throughout the U.S. and abroad, taking thousands of pictures of the towns and regions in which Standard Oil operated and even photographing the users of Standard Oil products. Since the company pervaded American life their subject was really the country itself.

A selection from this massive, and largely forgotten, visual archive can now be seen in a traveling exhibit, "Roy Stryker: U.S.A., 1943-1950," sponsored by the International Center for Photography. It is currently on display in Baton Rouge, La., and then moves to Dallas. Later showings will include Austin, Tex-

as, Chicago and Baltimore. These rediscovered photographs give a fresh and intimate portrait of the '40s, much like a family album never seen before.

One photo shows an auto parts store in New Jersey that advertises itself with a wall of shining hub caps and announces that headlight reflectors could be resilvered there, a lost art in our throw-away culture. In a tobacco warehouse, workers drink from "white" and "colored" fountains. Amidst Martha McMillan Roberts' photographs of Southern black sharecroppers there is a picture of an experimental mechanical cotton-picker, a device that would soon wipe out the way of life she so painstakingly recorded.

Standard Oil had very specific motives in undertaking this experiment in corporate patronage of the arts. In 1942 it was accused of undermining the U.S. war effort stemming from a cartel agreement with the German petrochemical giant I.G. Farben. Standard Oil had agreed in 1929 not to develop synthetic rubber in exchange for Farben's pledge not to produce or market petrochemicals in the U.S. When the Japanese captured the major sources of natural rubber a crisis ensued. Although Standard Oil was eventually exonerated, opinion polls showed that its public image had reached a new low.

In response, Standard Oil began a massive publicity campaign, much as John D. Rockefeller Jr. had done after the 1913 massacre of striking miners and their

families in Ludlow, Colo. A public relations department was established to win over "opinion leaders"—professionals, academics and businessmen—who might influence the wider public. To woo this elite, Standard Oil also funded visual artists, including "regionalist" painter Thomas Hart Benton. But the photography project was the most important component of the campaign. Standard Oil photos were made available free of charge to newspapers, magazines and publishers, so long as the company was credited. In effect, this was the precursor of both modern "corporate image" advertising and company sponsorship of museum shows and public television. Similar to the situation today, the 1940s



*Street Scene
Cushing, Oklahoma 1946
By Harold Corsini*

*Mixed Quartet Singing
Texas, May 1945
By Esther Bubley*

was a time when business was replacing the federal government—especially the WPA—as a major patron of the arts. Exxon is still at it; this traveling photo show was made possible by funds it provided.

Stryker's move to Standard Oil was part of a wartime erosion of the New Deal. A one-time economics teacher, he had been brought to the FSA by its head, Rexford Tugwell, to use documentary photography to create public and congressional sympathy for the rural poor, and for the programs designed to aid them. Although an extraordinary artistic success, the effort was ultimately a political failure. When the war began, Congress folded the FSA under pressure from conservatives and large-scale farmers. Stryker's unit was transferred to the Office of War Information, where its funds were cut and more positive pictures were expected. When approached by Standard Oil, Stryker accepted the opportunity to continue creating a visual record of America, bringing with him some FSA photographers and hiring others.

Some of the photographs they produced are magnificent. One of the best has nothing to do with oil; it is a portrait of a sad-eyed woman, sitting at a table in Joe's Bar in Cut Bank, Mont. Then there is Gordon Parks' stunning photo of a worker lifting a drum from a vat of boiling lye, a study of the contrast between the human and the mechanical, between

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